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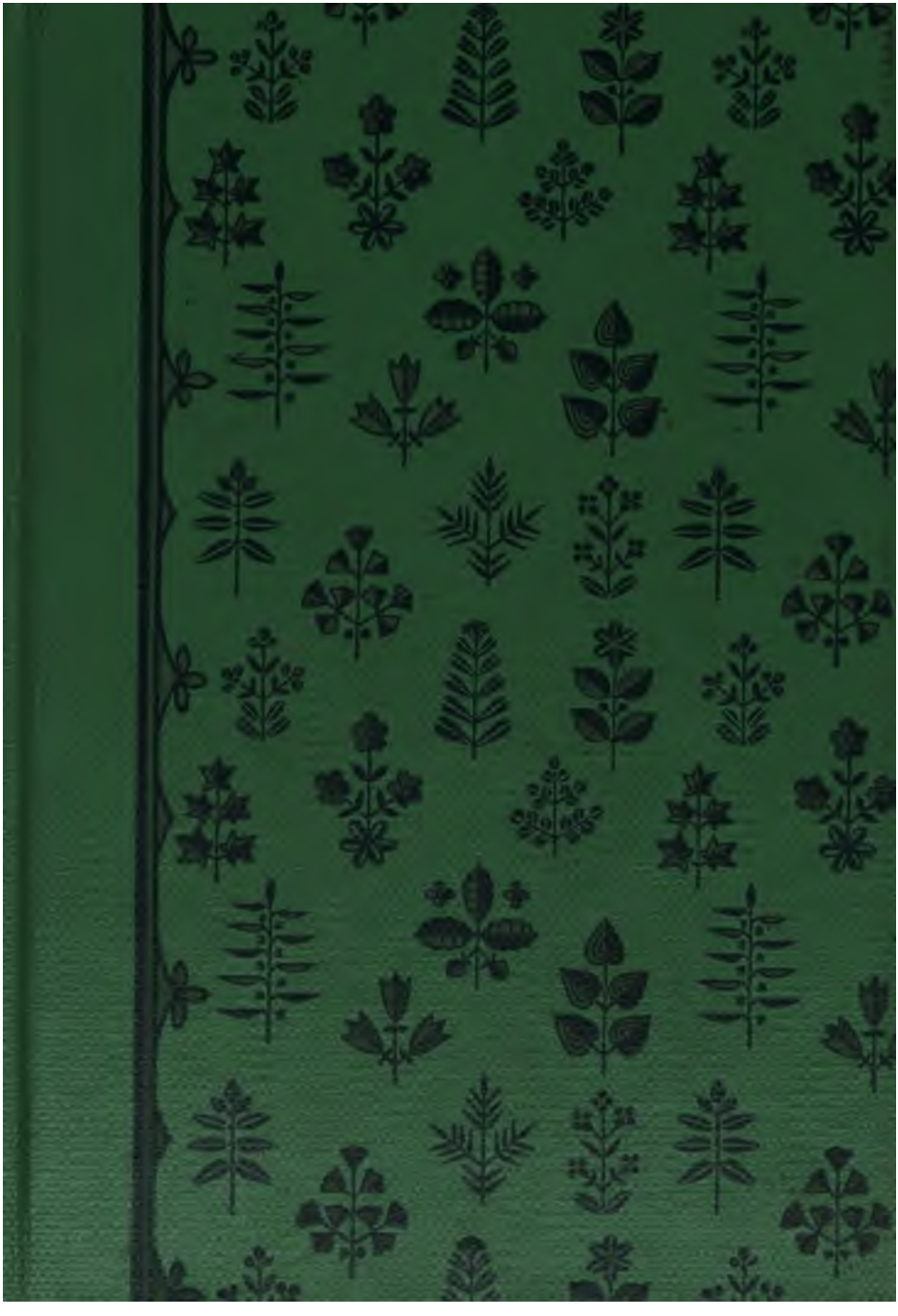

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Treitschke

His Doctrine of German Destiny

and of

International Relations

Together with

A Study of His Life and Work by

Adolf Hausrath

For the First Time Translated into English

G. P. Putnam's Sons
New York and London
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FOREWORD

GREAT national movements and national passions or enthusiasms since the Middle Ages have always been connected with the names of leaders (preachers, writers, or statesmen), and not infrequently, with that of one particular leader whose words have acted upon the people as an inspiration, and who has given the keynote and character to the movement. It is probable (Carlyle to the contrary notwithstanding) that each of these national movements would have taken place, even although the particular individual and leader had not existed. When, however, a revolution or an outbreak of any kind shapes itself on the lines of some given teaching, it is proper to study the character and the doctrines of the teacher. The history of the French Revolution could not be considered without analysis of Rousseau and his writings, and, in like manner, the present action of Germany, which amounts to a revolution, in initiating the European War of 1914, will always be connected in history with the teachings of Treitschke. Americans are called upon at this time to arrive at an opinion in regard to the causation of the war, the nature of the issues that are *being fought* over, and the factors

which are influencing the combatants. It is important, on more grounds than one, to arrive at an understanding of the influences which are directing the present policy of Germany, and which have imbued, not only the Imperial Government, but the mass of Germans back of the Emperor and his counsellors, with the craze for world domination and with the conviction that it is their duty to enforce German *Kultur* (a very different thing from what we understand by *culture*) upon all civilized communities.

Treitschke has been called "the Machiavelli of the Nineteenth Century," but his words were directed not only to monarchs and to other leaders of the State, but to the people as a whole. The greed for domination dates from the time when Treitschke began to write and to lecture on national politics and on German ideals. The cry of *Deutschland über alles* was to him more than an ideal, it was a religion, and through his forcible teaching it has become the burning faith of the nation as a whole. Throughout the whole of Treitschke's writings his conviction of the necessity for the supremacy of Germans over all other peoples is enforced with all the vigour and skill at his command. To England he directs his most venomous outpouring. "English policy," says Treitschke, "which aims at the unreasonable goal of world supremacy, has always, as its foundation principle, reckoned on the misfortunes of other *nations.*"

It seems evident that the instigation to the curious hate of England and to the conviction that for the development of Germany the destruction of the British Empire was essential, is due to Treitschke. He died, in Berlin, in 1896, and it is his pupils, the middle-aged men of to-day, Bernhardi and others, who have planned the present fight of Germany for the domination of Europe. Bismarck was Treitschke's valued friend, and William II has been nurtured on his teachings. These teachings give the philosophy for the present political and military action. The essays contained in this volume present the opinions of Treitschke on the policy and the destiny of Germany, while the critical biography, written with the full sympathy of a close friend, gives an insight into the character of the man himself.

Professor J. H. Morgan says:

"If Treitschke was a casuist at all (and as a rule he is refreshingly, if brutally, frank), his was the supreme casuistry of the doctrine that the end justifies the means. That the means may corrupt the end or become an end in themselves he never fairly realized. He honestly believed that war was the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise. He feared the commercialism of modern times, and despised England because he judged her wars to have been always undertaken with a view to the conquest of markets. He sneers at the Englishman who 'scatters the blessings *of civilization* with a Bible in one hand

and an opium pipe in the other.' He honestly believed that Germany exhibited a purity of domestic life, a pastoral simplicity, and a deep religious faith to which no European country could approach. He has written passages of noble and tender sentiment, in which he celebrates the piety of the peasant, whose religious exercises were hallowed wherever the German tongue was spoken, by the massive faith in Luther's great hymn. Those who would understand the strength of Treitschke's influence on his generation must not lose sight of these purer elements in his teachings. He was the first preacher of the doctrine that Germany must become a power across the sea. He became indeed the champion of the Junkers, and his history is a kind of hagiography of the Hohenzollerns. He rested his hopes for Germany on the bureaucracy and the army. By a quite natural transition he was led on from his championship of the unity of Germany to a conception of her rôle as a world-power. He is the true father of *Weltpolitik*."

Like Mommsen, Treitschke insisted that the people of the conquered provinces must be "forced to be free," that Morality and History (which for him are much the same thing) proclaim they are German without knowing it. He says:

"We Germans, who know Germany and France, know better what is good for Alsace than the unhappy people themselves who through their *French* associations have lived in ignorance of the

new Germany. We have in the enormous changes of these times too often seen in glad astonishment the immortal working of the moral forces of History (*'das unsterbliche Fortwirken der sittlichen Mächte der Geschichte'*) to be able to believe in the unconditional value on this matter of a Referendum. We invoke the men of the past against the present."

The ruthless pedantry of this is characteristically Prussian. It is easy to appeal to the past against the present, to the dead against the living. Dead men tell no tales. Treitschke admitted that the Alsatians did not love the Germans; there was, he ruefully confessed, something rather unlovely about the civilizing methods of Prussia.

Lord Acton, writing in 1886, pronounced Treitschke to be "the one writer of history who was more brilliant and more powerful than Droysen." "He writes," says Acton, "with the force and fire of Mommsen, and he accounts for the motives that stir a nation as well as for the councils that govern it."

One of Treitschke's pupils writes of him: "His style is full of colour and of movement; it is brilliant and thought-abounding; nervous, energetic feeling swings the reader along, while vast learning is digested and bent to the purposes of the author." Germans quote Treitschke as no historian has ever been quoted by English or by French; one may say that, in the interpretation of history, Treitschke *is to the present* generation of Germans

an inspired scripture, a bible. The political leaders refer to him as final authority. Treitschke, at his death, looked forward with confidence to the day when the world would find healing at the touch of the German character. "God will see to it that war always recurs as a drastic medicine for the human race." Says Treitschke's pupil Bernhardi: "War is essential not merely as a means to political ambition and territorial aggrandizement, but as a moral discipline, almost in fact as a spiritual inspiration."

Treitschke had a keen dislike and distrust for America. He says, "Germany can learn nothing from the United States." This is a natural utterance for a man who was the fiercest opponent in his generation of democracy and of democratic institutions.

Treitschke's pupil Clausewitz quotes his master as saying in substance: "Self-imposed restrictions, almost imperceptible and hardly worth mentioning, termed *Usages of International Law*, accompany violence without essentially impairing its value."

In the introduction to the *Politik*, Treitschke says in regard to the sanctity of war: "It is to be conceived as an ordinance set by God. It is the most powerful maker of nations; it is politics *par excellence*." "What a perversion of morality," says Treitschke, "it would be if one struck out of humanity heroism" (*Heldentum*). But Treitschke's *Heldentum* is a different thing from what *the civilized* world has understood as heroism.

He forgets the caution of his contemporary Mommsen, who says: "Have a care, lest in this State, which has been at once a power in arms and a power in intelligence, the intelligence should vanish, and there should remain nothing but the pure military condition." The fruits of *Heldentum* are Louvain smoking in ashes to the sky. The philosophy of Treitschke is to-day the philosophy of the Prussian Government and of Germany behind Prussia; it is the philosophy under which the attempt is being made to crush France and to break up the British Empire. It is the teaching that has desolated Belgium and that has brought war upon the world.

GEO. HAVEN PUTNAM.

November 15, 1914.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Life of Treitschke	1
The Army	137
International Law	158
First Attempts at German Colonization	195
Two Emperors	217
Germany and Neutral States	236
Austria and the German Empire	249
The Alliance between Russia and Prussia	276
Freedom	302

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Treitschke: A Study of His Life and Work.

I.

THERE are some names which we instinctively connect with eternal youth. Those of Achilles and Young Siegfried we cannot conceive otherwise than as belonging to youth itself. If amongst the more recent ones we count Hoelty, Theodore Koerner, and Novalis the divine youth, this is due to death having overtaken them while yet young in years. But if involuntarily we also include Heinrich von Treitschke, the reason for it lies not in the age attained by him but in his unfading freshness. Treitschke died at the age of sixty-two, older or nearly of the same age as his teachers—Häusser, Mathy, and Gervinus, all of whom we invariably regard as venerable old men. And yet he seemed to us like Young Siegfried with his never ageing, gay temperament, his apparently inexhaustible virility. To his students he seemed new at every half term, and living amongst young people he remained your- with them. Hopeful of the future and possess

of a fighting spirit, he retained within him the joy and sunshine of eternal youth. Thus Death, when he came, appeared not as an inexorable gleaner gathering the withered blades in the barn of his Lord, but rather as a negligent servant destroying in senseless fashion a rare plant which might yet have yielded much delicious fruit.

We cannot, therefore, call it a happy inspiration which prompted the representation of Treitschke as a robed figure in the statue about to be erected in the University in Berlin.

It is, of course, not the figure of a Privy Councillor, who has assumed some resemblance with Gambetta, but that of a tall, distinguished-looking strong youth, with elastic muscles, whose every movement attests health and virility, a figure such as students and citizens were wont to see in Leipzig and Heidelberg, and which would have served an artist as the happiest design for monumental glorification. But to represent the opponent of all academic red-tapeism in robe is analogous with Hermann Grimm's proposal to portray the first Chancellor of the German Empire as Napoleon in the Court of the Brera—that is to say, in the full nude. Nevertheless, we greet with joy the high-spirited decision to honour Treitschke by a statue. In the same way as the name of Hutten will be connected with the revolt against the Pope, and the name of Koerner with that against Napoleon, so the name of Treitschke will always be connected with the redemption of our people

from the disgrace of the times of Confederation to the magnificence of 1870.

It was in August, 1863, that I heard the name of Treitschke for the first time, when, before an innumerable audience, he spoke at the Gymnastic Tournament in Leipzig, in commemoration of the Battle of Leipzig. A youth of twenty-nine, a private University lecturer, and the son of a highly-placed officer related to Saxon nobility, he proclaimed with resounding force what in his family circle was considered demagogical machination and enmity against illustrious personages, and as such was generally tabooed. But the principal idea underlying his argument—that what a people aspires to it will infallibly attain—found a respondent chord in many a breast; and I, like many another who read the verbatim report of the speech in the South German Journal *Braters*, resolved to read in future everything put into print by this man.

We were overjoyed when, in the autumn of 1863, the Government of Baden appointed Treitschke as University Deputy Professor for Political Science. It was so certain that at the same time he would give historic lectures that, on hearing of Treitschke's appointment, Wegele of Würzburg —who had already accepted the position of Professor of History at Freiburg—immediately asked to be released from his engagement, as henceforth he could no longer rely on securing pupils. The new *arrival was pleased* with his first impressions

of Baden. From his room he overlooked green gardens stretching towards the River Münster. In the University he gave lectures on politics and on the Encyclopædia of Political Science; but before a much larger audience he spoke in the Auditory of Anatomy, and later on in the Aula, on German History, the History of Reformation, and similar subjects, creating a sensation not only at the University but also in Society. It was his phenomenal eloquence—not North-German verbosity, but fertility of thought surging with genius and flowing like an inexhaustible fountain—which drew his audience at public lectures and festivities. His success with students gave him less cause for gratification. Possibly Science, on which he lectured for practically the first time, offered inadequate facilities for the development of his best faculties, but the principal fault seems to have rested with his audience. "The students," he wrote to Freytag, "are very childish, and, as usual in Universities, suffer from drowsy drunkenness." It can be imagined how this failure affected and depressed the eager young professor, for whose subsistence the Leipzig students had sent a deputation to Dresden, and whom they had honoured on his departure with a torchlight procession. To me he said: "The Freiburg students are lazy—abominably lazy." More than once he had been compelled to write to truant-playing pupils asking whether they intended hearing *lectures at all in* future, since he could well employ

his time to better advantage. It was only natural that these experiences biassed his opinion of the whole population, and he judged the fathers' qualities by those of their dissolute sons. Society also left him discontented, and to his father he wrote: "I do not find it easy to adjust myself to the social conditions of this small hole; anybody with as little talent for gossiping as I possess suffers from an ignorance of individual peculiarities, and stumbles at every moment." The Freiburg nobility being not only strictly Catholic, but also thoroughly Austrian, he, with his outspoken Prussian tendencies and attacks against the priests, stirred up a good deal of unrest. Among his colleagues, he associated principally with Mangold, the private lecturer von Weech, the lawyer Schmidt, and the University steward Frey, all of whom were of Prussian descent. The letter in which he informs his godfather, Gutschmid, that he had again been asked to act as godfather is, from the point of view of phraseology, truly "Treitschkean": "A few weeks ago I again acted as godfather, to a daughter of M., and on this occasion silently implored the immortals that the child might turn out better than her uncommonly good-for-nothing brothers. For my godchild in Kiel this prayer was superfluous; in my presence at least, your Crown Prince always behaved as an educated child of educated parents." Through his Bonn relatives, the two Nokk, he became acquainted with Freiherr von Bodman, the father-

in-law of Wilhelm Nokk. Especially welcome was he at the house of von Woringen, the Doctor of Law, where he saw a good deal of Emma von Bodman, who subsequently became his wife, and at that of von Hillern, the Superior Court Judge, whose wife, the daughter of Charlotte Birchpfeiffer, consulted him in regard to her poetical creations. Already, after the first half term, the deaf young professor was the most discussed person in local Society, and he himself boasted to my wife that for his benefit several Freiburg ladies learned the deaf-and-dumb language. They waxed enthusiastic over the young and handsome scholar, and in their admiration for him sent for his poems, only to be subsequently shocked, like Psyche before Cupid. Yet it is characteristic that he started his literary career with historic ballads which he called *Patriotic Poems* (1856), and *Studies* (1857).

The political life of the Badenese, which at that time principally turned upon the educational question, was not to his taste. The Ultramontanes he simply found coarse and stupid, and he writes: "It is empty talk to speak of doctrinal freedom and freedom to learn in a University with a Catholic faculty. All Professors of Theology are clerks in holy orders, and so utterly dependent upon their superiors that only recently the archbishop asked the brave old Senator Maier to produce the books of his pupils. Furthermore, *the students of* Theology are locked in a convent,

and true to old Jesuitic tradition are watched step by step by mutual secret control. That is what is called academic liberty." But here, also, is his opinion regarding others: "The grand-ducal Badenese liberalism is nothing but cheap charlatanism without real vigour"; nay, he calls "particularist liberalism" the most contemptible of all parties which, however, unfortunately, would play an important part in the near future. "Look for instance at this National Coalition. Has ever a great nation seen such a monster?" In his opinion it sides with the Imperial Constitution of 1849, although the leaders themselves are convinced of their inability to carry through the programme, and at the same time the future political configuration of Germany is declared to be an open question, consequently it has on the whole no programme at all.

Soon I was destined to make the personal acquaintance of the much-admired and much-criticized one. It was at an "At Home" at Mathy's. Scarcely had I entered the vestibule when I heard a very loud voice in the drawing-room slowly emphasizing every syllable in the style of a State Councillor. "This is Treitschke, of Freiburg," I said immediately, and it was really he. The Freiburg ladies had by no means exaggerated his handsome appearance. A tall, broad-shouldered figure, dark hair and dark complexion, dark, pensive eyes, now dreamy, now vividly glis*tening—unmistaka*bly Slav. With his black

hair, the heavy moustache, which he still wore at that time, and his vivid gesticulations, he could not conceal his Slav origin. He looked like a Polish nobleman, and his knightly frame reminded one of a Hussite, a Ziska for instance. Later, he told me of his exiled ancestors—Czech Protestants of the name of Trschky, referred to by Schiller in *Wallenstein*, although the editions mostly spoke of Terzky's Regiments. At about midnight, when wending our way through the silent town, a policeman approached us, intending to warn the loud, strange gentleman to moderate his voice. The arm of the law, however, quickly retired when, in company of the disturber of the peace, he recognized Herr von Roggenbach and several Ministerial Secretaries. As Treitschke at that time made use of the Karlsruhe Archives, he from time to time came to Karlsruhe, where he sought the society of Mathy, Nokk, von Weech, and Baumgarten. Under Mathy's influence a gradual change took place in him, which transmitted itself to all of us. At first he was an eager adherent of Augustenburg, and the first money received for his lectures in Freiburg he invested in the Ducal Loan. Through Freytag he had likewise recommended his friend, von Weech, to the Duke of Augustenburg with a view to his securing an appointment in Kiel for publicistic purposes. After that his attitude totally changed. When he realized that Bismarck earnestly aspired gain*ing for Prussia* the dominating power in the East

and North Sea, he frankly declared the strengthening of Prussia to be the supreme national duty. Häusser intended to pin him down with his former views by citing Treitschke's first Augustenburg dissertations in the *Review of the Prussian Annuals* of 1864. Treitschke, however, by way of reply, in an essay on the solution of the Schleswig-Holstein question, proved that the compliance with the Augustenburg demands was detrimental to Germany's welfare. Again he had spoken the decisive word, and all writers of our circle now advocated annexation. We were nicknamed "Mamelukes and Renegades" by our Heidelberg colleague Pickford, then editor of the *Konstanzer Zeitung*. Treitschke was now as violently against, as formerly for, the Duke. Now he sees the latter as "the miserable pretender, whom he despises from the bottom of his heart. Not only has he not come to the noble decision which Germany is entitled to expect from him, but by his unscrupulous demagogical agitations he has utterly unsettled his country." In Karlsruhe, the quiet town of officials, such a political point of view was perhaps admissible; not so, however, in the high country filled with animosity against Prussia. Every child was convinced that Prussia now, as formerly, intended handing over the dukedoms to the King of the Danes. Junker Voland, who had persuaded the King to break with the Constitution, was, of course, bribed long ago by England and Russia to again *restore the dukedoms* to Danish supremacy.

Everything that had happened after the short, hopeful glimpse of Prussia's new era was an object of sarcasm for the South German population. When a boy talked very stupidly, his comrades would call out: "Go to Königsberg and have yourself crowned"; and at Mass the beggar-women, pointing with their sticks to the Prince's image, shrieked out mocking insults.

This coarseness of the street and the tone of the Freiburg democratic journals against Prussia filled the politician, so inconsiderate against his own Saxony, with immense indignation. In a letter to Freytag he finds the Badenese "quite steeped in the quagmire of phrases and foul language. Examining these parties, the moral value of both sides seems identical; the meaningless mendacity of our average liberalism fills me with deep disgust. How long shall we labour ere we again are able to speak of German faith? If I am now to choose between the two parties, I select that of Bismarck, since he struggles for Prussian power for our legitimate position on the North and East Sea." He considered as impossible the peaceful conversion of the Badenese to Prussia. "Amid this abominable South German particularism it has become perfectly evident to me that our fate will clearly be decided by conquest. Six years of my life I have spent in the South, and here I have gained the sad conviction that even with a Cabinet composed of men of the *type of Stein* and Humboldt, the hatred and jeal-

ousy of the South Germans against Prussia would not diminish. I am longing for the North, to which I belong with all my heart, and where also our fate will be decided." His public lectures were very largely frequented. "But," he says, "the Philistines are prejudiced when entering the Aula, and are firmly determined to consider as untrue every word I say about Prussia. The opinion is prevalent that the South Germans are the most modest of our people. I say they are the most arrogant; to a man they consider themselves the real Germans, and the North a country half of which is still steeped in barbarity, this quite apart from a dissolute braggadocio the mere thought of which fills me with disgust. Believe me, only the trusty sword of the conqueror can weld together these countries with the North." Later on, when I conversed with him every evening at a round table in the Heidelberg Museum, I realized the reasons for his lack of understanding of our people. We seemed to him lukewarm, because we did not strike the national chord with the power which he expected of a good German. But why should we do that? In the Saxony of Herr von Beust, and in Prussia's time of reaction, national ideas were tabooed, and that is why the patriots felt compelled to bear witness in season and out of season. But we lived in a free country, under a Prince harbouring German sentiments, and where it would have been an easy matter to feign patriotism quite apart from the fact that we

South Germans do not care discussing our sentiments. I told him that in the same way as I, despite my warmest feelings for my family, could not bring myself to proclaim pompously the excellence of my wife and child, so was I reluctant to publicly praise my Fatherland; and subsequently I reminded him of the Yankee who declared that immediately a man spoke to him of patriotism he knew him to be a rascal. In regard to our sympathy for France, which he reviled as the Rhine Confederation sentimentality, it would be difficult for him to place himself in our position. During the last century we had received nothing but kindness from France, namely, deliverance from the Palatine Bavarian régime, from Jesuits and Lazarists, from episcopal and Junker rule, from guild restrictions and compulsory service: all this and the very existence of the country which we enjoyed we owed directly or indirectly to Napoleon and the Code Napoleon, from which the hatred of the French arose. This, it is true, I found quite natural, considering Napoleon weakened Prussia and abused Saxony. He was indignant when he noticed in corridors of inns and even in parlours the small lithographs which, under the First Empire, were poured out in thousands from Paris even across the States of the Rhine Convention, representing the Victor of Marengo, the Sun of Austerlitz, Napoleon's Battle at the Pyramids, etc., and which, owing to the conservative spirit of the peasantry, decorated the walls,

until moths, rust, and wood-worms gradually brought about their destruction. He even took offence at the attitude displayed by Frenchmen in the Black Forest watering places, and in Baden-Baden. When, finally, a Heidelberg lawyer declared in the Reichstag that for him the cultured Frenchman is still the most amiable of all European beings, Treitschke stigmatized us as incorrigible partisans of the Rhine Confederation. But a glance at the letters of Frau Rat Goethe, in Frankfort, who prayed God that French and not Prussian soldiers should be quartered in her house, might have taught him that the expressions of a long historical epoch find expression in these remarks, which could not be effaced by proud words. Furthermore, when the Prussian Ministry trampled on the Budget rights of Parliament, and by a sophistical theory about a defect in the Constitution exasperated the sense of justice of every honest-thinking German, when the most extraordinary verdicts of the Supreme Court, accompanied by the removal from office of the most capable officials, provoked the population, it was really not the time to stimulate among South Germans the desire to become incorporated with Prussia. The moment was, therefore, most unpropitious for his propaganda. In those days even such old admirers of a Union with Prussia as Brater became converts to the triad-idea, and Treitschke's friend, Freytag, commented on it in *merely the following* manner: "It is always very

sad and unpleasant when intelligent people so easily become asses." Why, therefore, should the unintelligent masses be judged as harshly as was done by Treitschke? In regard to our clerical-political struggles—and this was the second reason for his lack of understanding of our population—he found himself in the position of a guest who enters a room in which a heated discussion has been going on for hours past and, not having been present from the beginning, is unable to appreciate the intensity of the contending parties. Even at that time I was annoyed at the haughty tone with which he and his non-Badenese friends—Baumgarten in particular—discussed the Badenese struggles. They considered the educational problem trivial compared with the mighty national question at stake; and overlooked the fact that to get rid of the clerical party was to be the primary condition for joining hands with Protestant Prussia. They knew less of the situation as far as the population was concerned than of events in the Ministry and at Court. Thus they constantly looked behind the scenes, and thereby missed the part which was being played on the stage. That is why none of the North German politicians achieved a really cordial understanding with their citizens, while Bluntschli of the South, in spite of his suspicious political past, could boast of great respect among the Liberals.

In the autumn of 1868 Treitschke made a long *stay at Karlsruhe*; he spent his days mostly in

the Archives, and the evenings found him either in the family circle of his friends or hard at work. He had not become more favourably impressed with the "townlet of clericals," and expressed the desire more and more frequently to be nearer a town where there were controversy and quarrelling, and where the mind was exercised, and deeds were done. Nevertheless, few towns in Germany could have been found at that time where he could express so freely his political opinions without interference from headquarters, as is proved by the publication of his famous dissertation on "Union of States and Single State." In regard to this he himself thought it "extraordinary" that it could have been published in Freiburg. That the German Confederation is not a Coalition of States, but a Coalition of Rulers, that Austria cannot be called a German State, and that the Minor Powers are no States at all, lacking as they do power of self-determination: all these axioms to-day have become commonplace, but at that time the particularist press raised a fierce outcry against them. Although an official of a Small State himself, he nevertheless put into print that a ship a span in length is no ship at all, and that, should the Small States of Prussia be annexed, what would happen to them was only what they themselves in times gone by had done to smaller territories; for they owed their existence to annexations. Of the German Princes he said: "The majority of the illustrious heads show an alarming

family resemblance; well-meaning mediocrity predominates almost everywhere. And this generation, not very lavishly endowed by nature, has from early youth had its mind imbued with the doctrines of monarchy, and with the traditions of particularism. From childhood it is surrounded by that Court nobility which is Germany's curse, for it has no fatherland, and if it does not completely disappear in stupid selfishness, it rises at its highest to chivalrous attachment of the Prince's personality and the princely family. Should that Coalition State, which the princes prefer to the Centralized State, come about, their fate would not be an enviable one. If, even at this day, the pretentious title of King of the Middle States bears no proportion to its importance, we shall in a Coalition State be unable to contemplate without a smile the position of a King of Saxony or Würtemberg. Monarchs in such position would be quite superfluous beings, and the nation sooner or later would ask the question whether it would not be advisable to discard such costly and useless organizations." This essay he sent to the Grand Duke, who graciously thanked him for the valuable gift. In few German States would a similar reception have been given to such a treasonable publication. "The Karlsruhe official world"—so he informed Freytag on December 27, 1864—"has recovered from the first absurd shock which my book occasioned"; he himself, therefore, did *not* deny its startling character. Nevertheless, he

was often commanded by the Court to give lectures, and in spite of his political heresy he was still a much sought after and distinguished personality, and already regarded as possible successor to Häusser.

When the crisis, anticipated by him long before, really broke out he decided to relinquish his thankless duties in Freiburg, in spite of the fact that he was too far away from the theatre of events to take an active part in the press campaign. Roggenbach's resignation had not endeared Baden to him. As regards Stabel, Lamey, Ludwig, etc., he thought they did not even bestow a thought upon Germany. "Edelsheim is no good at all. Mathy, ironically smiling, keeps aloof; he is above the question of Small States; he was the first to predict that nowadays a Small State cannot be governed by Parliament. The downfall of our friend is only a question of time, and presumably it will be accelerated by the extraordinary ineptitude of the Chamber. Naturally, at the next session ministers will be harassed by flippant interpellations until the Liberals resign and the strong bureaucrats take office. That will then be called a triumph of parliamentary principles." Still more drastic are his views on June 12, 1866: "Lamey's views on politics are on a level with the beer garden; and then this fool of an Edelsheim! Roggenbach's resignation was a fatal mistake." Treitschke's friends were infallible, but not the later "*Ministry* of Emperor Frederick."

After the Battle of Königgrätz, even Freytag spoke in his letter of "Bismaerckchen" (Little Bismarck), and of the waggish tricks of this "hare-brain," of which in reality he was afraid. Comparing the clear, self-confident letters of Bismarck with the excited correspondence of these spirited political amateurs, no doubt can be entertained as to where was the superiority of mind and character. But to know better was then the order of the day, and the mischievous attempts of Oscar Becker and Blind Cohen, which aimed at removing King Wilhelm and Bismarck because they were not the right people to frame Germany's Constitution, were only a crude expression of the self-same desire to know better. At the same time these gentlemen were no more agreed among themselves than they were in agreement with the Government, and when Baumgarten warned the Prussians to think more of the threatening war than of the constitutional contest, he received in the journal *Der Grenzbote*, from Freytag, a very impolite answer for his "craziness." The Prussians had no wish to be taught their duties by the Braunschweigers. Meanwhile Bismarck's attention had been directed to Treitschke, and through the medium of Count Fleming, the Prussian Ambassador at Karlsruhe, he was invited to a personal interview to Berlin. The Count, a very musical and easy-going gentleman, gave Treitschke such scanty information as to the object of the *journey that*, on June 7, 1866, the latter himself

ote to Bismarck. It surely was a great temp-
ion to Treitschke when Bismarck suggested
t he should take part at his side in the great
ending developments, should draw up the
nifesto to the German population, and write
he papers for the good cause, while, after the
clusion of peace, he would be given a position
Berlin as University Professor of History. How
ny of those who at that time called him a
meluke and a Renegade would have resisted
n temptation? He replied that, as hitherto,
would support Bismarck's Prussian external
cy, but he refused to become a Prussian func-
ary until after the re-establishment of the
stitution. Until this had come to pass no
er of persuasion in the world, and not even the
sperings of angels, would make an impression
n the nation. He even refused to draw up the
r Manifesto. He did not wish to sacrifice his
est political name for the sake of a great sphere
ctivity. When, on a later occasion, Bismarck
ted to dinner "our Braun," in order to win
over to his protective duty plans, Braun—
mant, as he told me himself—declared that
ould not renounce his convictions of the past,
having been educated in protective ideas.
narck, infuriated, threw down the serviette,
, and slammed the door behind him; where-
n, Braun, in spite of the Princess's entreaty
to argue with her ailing husband, told the
es *he could not put* up with everything, and

likewise retired. Treitschke, although in a similar predicament, must have been held in higher esteem by Bismarck, for, in spite of his refusal, he was invited to headquarters for the second time after the victories. Treitschke had persistently declined any semi-official activity until the re-establishment of the Constitution, yet Bismarck granted him unrestricted use of the Archives until the day on which he himself took over the ministerial portfolio; furthermore, Treitschke's wounded brother was under the personal care of the Prince.

Treitschke's disposition in those days is apparent from a letter to Gustave Freytag of June 12th, which runs as follows: "During such serious times, surrounded only by madly fanatic opponents, I often feel the desire to chat with old friends. The uncertainty and unclearness of the situation has also been reflected very vividly in my life. I have some very trying days behind me. Bismarck asked me to his headquarters: I was to write the War Manifesto, to work for the policy of the German Government, and was assured a Professorship in Berlin, the dream of my ambitions; I could write with an easy conscience the proclamations against Austria and for the German Parliament. Briefly, the temptation was very great, and all the more enticing as my stay here is slowly becoming unbearable. Even Roggenbach, now an out-and-out Prussian, did not dare dissuade me, but I had to refuse; I could not pledge *myself to a* policy, the final aims of which only

one man knows, when I had no power to mend its defects. I could not for the sake of a very doubtful success stake my honest name. According to my political doctrine even one's good name is to be sacrificed to the Fatherland, but only to the Fatherland; and consequently, only when in power, and when hopes exist of really furthering the State by steps which the masses consider profligate. I am differently placed." He had chosen the right way, and his sacrifice was not in vain. It must have impressed Bismarck that even such fanatics of Prussianism as Treitschke did not pardon the way he dealt with the clear rights of the country. In those days he permitted negotiations with President von Unruh, in order to settle the constitutional conflict. Treitschke's renunciation, tantamount to an adjournment of his most ardent wishes, is to be praised all the more as his isolated position in Freiburg would have determined any other man less brave than himself to take his departure speedily. The posters and threats of the Ultramontanes were quite personally directed against him. Police had to watch his house; for in the midst of an excited Catholic population he was more openly exposed to danger than Bluntschli was in Heidelberg, with its national tendencies. He smiled, however. "Beneath the screaming insubordination of the South German rabble"—so he writes—"there is not sufficient courage left to even smash *a window-pane.*" When, however, the Edelsheim

Parliamentary Division, on June 17th, established that Baden was determined to stand by Austria, he sent in his resignation. "I cannot gamble with my oath," he wrote to Freytag; "that is to say, I cannot remain official servant in a State of the Rhine Convention which I, as a patriot, must endeavour to damage in every way. I cannot commit political suicide, and in times like these retire into the interior of the enemy's country. These are my simple and telling reasons." To Gustav Freytag alone he, however, confessed how difficult this step had been for him, and on July 4th he wrote as follows: "What made these weeks particularly trying, and rendered so difficult my radical decision, I will confess to you, but to you alone. On June 18th, immediately before my resignation, I became engaged." At a moment when an assured position meant everything to him he departed from his country without knowing whether he would be able to gain a footing elsewhere. On the day on which Freiburg danced with joy on account of the Prussian defeat at Frautenau, he received information that his resignation had been accepted. On the following morning, June 29th, he departed by railway for Berlin in search of a new post. The Freiburg rabble had planned honouring him with a Dutch Concert, but it was found that he had already left. More with a view to travelling quickly—the Badenese lines being blocked by military trains—*than on account* of apprehensions of unpleasant

encounters with soldiers in the railway stations, he travelled *via* Strasburg and Lothring. Upon his arrival at Münster of Stein the display of black and white flags taught him the real meaning of the Prussian defeats which caused such rejoicing amongst his Freiburg patrons.

II.

After his exodus to Berlin, our patriot found temporary employment at the *Preussische Jahrbucher* (Prussian Annuals), where he was appointed deputy to Wehrenpfennig, the editor of the journal. "For the moment of course, " he wrote to Freytag, "the guns talk, and how magnificently they talk!" He also thought that every Hussar who knocked down a Croat rendered greater service to his country than all the journalists. All the same, his aim was to be as useful as possible with his pen to the cause of the Prussian eagles. He approved of Bismarck's constitutional plans, but the introduction of universal suffrage appealed to him as little then as later on. "I consider universal suffrage in Germany a crude and frivolous experiment," he wrote. "We are yet a cultured people, and under no obligation to submit to the predominant lack of sense. If we once stretch this point it will, in view of the jealous ambition for equality prevalent in this century, be almost impossible to regain it. Of all the Bismarckian actions I am afraid *this* is the least beneficial one.

For the moment it will procure for him a gratifying Parliamentary majority; there is, however, incalculable confusion in store."

Under his editorship the *Preussische Jahrbucher* were distinguished by exceptionally cutting language. After three months Wehrenpfennig, however, again took up his duties, and at the beginning of October, at the house of his *fiancée* at Freiburg, the news reached him of his appointment as Professor for History and Politics at Kiel. Immediately after the winter term his wedding took place in Freiburg, and the honeymoon was spent in the north of Italy, the couple subsequently leaving for their new home to enjoy a second spring on the eastern sea. It would have been quite within his power to obtain an appointment as Professor at Heidelberg. It was even the wish of the Grand Duke that he should take the historical subjects in place of Häusser, who was suffering from an incurable heart disease. Treitschke's refined sentiment was, however, opposed to introducing himself as the joyful heir to the dying man, who was his old master.

When Häusser, amid the peals of the Easter bells of 1867, closed his worldly account, Treitschke told his young wife that for him Häusser's death had come a good many years too soon, and that the departed one had lost a great chance. To be active during the years of youth in beautiful Heidelberg, and then, after many struggles and *victories, at* the eve of life to march triumphantly

into Berlin must be the finest lot of a University Professor. Besides, as in consequence of his recent writings during the war his appointment in a Small State had become almost impossible, he prepared for a longer stay in the new home, and on the beautiful Bay of Kiel enjoyed married bliss. The great crowd of public functionaries and cultured citizens who thronged his lectures proved to him that here also there was useful work to do. He was very pleased with the Kiel students, energetic and conscientious as they were. In Gutschmid and Ribbeck he found true political adherents, but soon he also began to understand the disposition of the Holsteins. At the house of Fräulein Hegewisch, the daughter of the well-known medical practitioner and patriot, who pre-eminently belongs to the group of the "Children of Sorrow," and the "Up ewig Ungedeelten," he made the personal acquaintance of the leader of the Augustenburgs. Friendly relations developed, although he did not fail to sneer at the Holsteins, who considered themselves *Normalmenschen* (normal beings). "On one occasion," Fräulein Hegewisch informed me, "on account of the crowd, I walked in the footpath of the Heidelberg high street instead of on the pavement, when behind me some one shouted, 'Normalmensch, Normalmensch! Why don't you walk on the pavement like others?' " In the letters to Freytag, also, he mentioned a good deal of Holstein conceit and self-praise, and in course of conversation he was

inclined to explain the local patriotism of the Schleswig student by the fact that everybody knew his Hardevogt who was ready to attest that this or the other patriot was needy and deserved to be exempt from paying college contribution. That the rest of the world was nailed with "normal" planks as far as the Holsteins were concerned was also one of the obliging expressions with which he favoured the population. In the same way his lady friend, when praising the beauty of Holstein, was usually annoyed by his remark that there were eight months of winter and four months of rain in Kiel. When, however, asked by Nokk whether he would care to return to Baden, he replied: "Not for all the treasures of India to Freiburg, but willingly to Heidelberg." His writings since his departure from Freiburg had not rendered probable his recall. His essay "On the Future of the North German Middle States," written in Berlin, 1866, attempting to prove that the dynasties of Kurhessen, Hanover, and of his own Saxony, were "ripe—nay, overripe—for merited destruction," could not serve exactly as a recommendation for appointment in a Small State. The intention of the Badenese Government was somewhat paradoxical, as everything he wrote about Small States and the Napoleonic crowns applied to Baden as well as to Saxony and Nassau. And how he had sneered at the poor small potentates. "Germany," he *wrote,* "will not perish even if the Nassau Captain

with his gun, his servant, and his seven bristly fowls should gaily enter the Marxburg again, the stronghold of the Nassau Realm. Whether the Frankfurter will be able to call himself in future a Republican, whether the Duke Bernhard Erich Feund and Princess Karoline of the older line will again ascend the throne of their parents, all these are third-rate matters which fall to the background in face of the question of the future of the three Middle State Courts of the North." He quite realized, he wrote, that the punctilious Counsellor of Court, Goething, would lose faith in his God if Georgia Augusta were to be deprived of the euphonic title "The Jewel in the Crown of the Welfs," and as for the Leipzig Professor, the thought is inconceivable that he should cease to be "a pearl in the lozenged wreath of Saxony." The doctrinaire is annoyed and offended when brutal facts disturb his circle. He cannot approve of the way Prussia has made use of her needle guns: "But picture the scene of King Johann's entry into his capital, how the Town Council of Dresden, faithful at all times, receives the destructor of the country with words of thanks and adoration; how maidens in white and green, with lozenged wreaths, bow to the stained and desecrated crown; how another dignitary orders the foolish songs of particularist poetry to be delivered: 'The Violet blossoms, verdant is again the Lozenge'; really, the mere thought fills one with disgust; it would be a spectacle to be likened to grown-ups playing

with toy soldiers and rocking-horses." Even for Germans with good Prussian sentiments this was somewhat strong language. In the presence of the Prussian General, who occupied Dresden, the essay was confiscated by the Saxon Public Prosecutor, but was released again by order of the military authorities. Treitschke's father expressed himself in angry words against his son's pamphlet, and in return received an autograph letter from the King expressing sympathy. It is evident, that, under these circumstances, it was no easy matter for the Badenese Court to call the author to Heidelberg. In the same way as his former articles against the Middle States prevented his being present at the wedding of his favourite second sister—he wished to avoid meeting the Karlowitz—so did he through this publication stand in the following year isolated and shunned at the grave of his father, in addition to almost losing his appointment to Heidelberg.

When the question of filling Häusser's chair arose for discussion it caused the opening of negotiations in the first instance with Sybel, a gentleman who, especially in our Karlsruhe circle, enjoyed great reputation, and on his visits even charmed our particularists by his extraordinary amiability. Baumgarten had worked with him in Munich. Von Weech was his pupil. He was an intimate friend of Philip Jolly. I was also pleased at the prospective appointment, for when *I spent a few* delightful weeks with him and Her-

mann Grimm on the Rigi-Scheideck, in 1863, he had rendered me several literary services, and had so warmly recommended me to his Karlsruhe friends that I was cordially received by them. But Sybel, occupying the position which he did, considered himself, in view of the Parliamentary quarrel, unjustified in abandoning Prussia. Meanwhile the agitated waves had somewhat subsided, and Mathy had never given up the bringing back of his "Max Piccolomini" to Baden. Only in Heidelberg his impending appointment met with opposition. Hitzig—who was, later, Pro-Rector—on November 22, 1866, after Königgrätz, in a festive speech entitled, "What does it profit a man to conquer the world if thereby he lose his soul?" and expressing unerring confidence in the return of Barbarossa, and the black-red golden Kyffhauser magnificence, declared to me at the General Synod in Karlsruhe that he and his friends would do all in their power to prevent such an unhappy choice. They did not want a writer of *feuilletons* who would make the giddy Palatines still more superficial. Besides, owing to his deafness, Treitschke was useless for all academic functions, which in Heidelberg were of the greatest importance. The actual Pro-Rector, Dr. Med. Friedreich, a Bavarian by birth, was likewise opposed to the appointment, and later on, after the outbreak of the academic disputes, declared in a letter to the minister that it was a *matter for regretful* doubt whether the mental

condition of Herr von Treitschke could still be considered a normal one. After long struggles Treitschke was at last proposed in third place by the Faculty. In the first place, Pauly was mentioned, in order to teach a lesson to the Würtemberg Government for having transferred him, by way of punishment, from the University to a Convent School. In the second place, there was Duncker, and in the third, Treitschke. In the Senate, Duncker was placed first, but Jolly did not trouble about this order, and after Sybel's refusal the choice fell upon Treitschke. He however, had now certain points to consider. His work made him dependent upon the Berlin Archives, the unrestricted use of which Bismarck had granted him till the day when he himself became minister; there he found the greatest possible assistance for his history on the Custom Union. "How stupid of the Berliners," he told me on a later occasion, "to bury all their acts, and allow Nebenius to enjoy the fame of being the founder of the Custom Union." It would, however, have been much more difficult to use the Archives in Berlin from Heidelberg, and he, of course, did not know how long this favour would be granted to him. The difficulties in connection with his appointment at Heidelberg were not exactly encouraging either, and it could not be pected of him to display great sympathies ards Badenese Liberalism, which he had seen ork in 1866. In a letter to Jolly, he grate-

fully acknowledged the sorely-tried noble spirit of the Grand Duke, who had again stretched out the hand, in spite of his former sudden resignation from Badenese official service; but he made the acceptance of the position dependent upon the consent of the Prussian Government. In those days his friends, Mathy, Hofmeister, and Nokk, did their utmost, personally, to persuade Treitschke, and only after having received the assurance from Berlin that his views were appreciated there, that his activity in Baden for the national cause would be regarded with favour, and that the King would continue to consider him a Prussian subject, he accepted the call to Heidelberg. Having simultaneously received my appointment as Assistant Professor for the Theological Faculty, we once more met. As until the last moment I was uncertain whether the proposal for the creation of this Faculty would materialize, not even the slightest preparations for the winter lectures had been made by me, and, overwhelmed with work as I now was, I resolved to pay no visits at all. It was Treitschke who, although older and "Ordinarius," called on me, the younger and Assistant Professor. Thus our relations were renewed, and, as Prussophils and Prussophobes kept more and more apart, quite naturally we became closer attached to each other. On November 22d the Pro-Rector, Dr. Med. Friedreich, at the dinner in honour of the *dies academicus*, had, in accordance with custom, to *deliver a speech*. The South German Progres-

sive intended avoiding political allusions, and consequently hit upon a medical comparison of the two newly-appointed gentlemen with the Siamese Twins, whose nature and history he exhaustively detailed. The one, the stronger, lifted the weaker one when disobedient up in the air until he yielded. The joy and sorrow of the one transmitted itself to the other one; when one drank wine, the other felt the effects, etc. Subsequently he spoke of the relations of the Theological Faculty to medical science, in view of the fact that it had undeceived orthodoxy; and finally he drank the health of the new arrivals. In very touching words Treitschke recalled the memory of our mutual teacher, Häusser. Whether I liked it or not, I had to picture myself as the weaker twin, who often had been lifted by the stronger one, and had promised to be obedient at all times. In spite of the peals of laughter with which Friedreich's speech had been received by the learned circle, the whole thing struck me as very insipid. Treitschke, however, was most highly amused, and for some time after, when meeting him, his first words used to be, "Well, Twin, how are we?" Later on he applied the unsavoury comparison of the doctor to Delbrück and Kamphausen, which did not please me either.

III.

In Heidelberg, Treitschke did not experience *with the students* the difficulties he had com-

plained of in Freiburg—a proof that the recalcitrant attitude of the Freiburg Student Corps was, to a great extent, due to the Ultramontanes and to politicians striving to reform the German Confederation in union with Austria. It is true some young students complained to me that on the first few occasions they were quite unable to hear what he said, that his delivery was much too rapid, and that they were irritated by the gurgling noise with which he from time to time unwittingly drew in his breath. But when once used to his mannerisms, they all admitted that his gift of speech, his accuracy of expression, and elementary force of enthusiasm appealed to them like a something never before experienced. An enthusiastic theologian, who died prematurely, applied to him the following expression from the Gospel of St. John: "Never before hath a man spoken as this man did!" Treitschke brought with him to lectures merely a scrap of paper with the catchwords written on it, so that he should not stray from the subject and forget to allude to certain matters. On one occasion, having left his notes at home, he told me he had finished, after all, five minutes sooner, which proved that we all are "creatures of habit." What was particularly fascinating in him was the assurance of his manner. He stood erect, with an expression of cheerfulness on his face, the head thrown back, and emphasizing the salient points by repeatedly nodding. The *contents of his lectures* were invariably his-

torical and political. While Ranke completely lost himself in pictures of the past, Treitschke never for a moment forgot the present. What he said of Cromwell, Gustavus Adolphus, and Napoleon always had its references to present-day England, Germany, and France. His examples proved that the taking to pieces of the sources of information and the looking for originals of reports, however indispensable this preparatory work might be, did not complete the functions of the historian. It was necessary to understand the people whose fate one intends to relate, and as Treitschke himself said, one understands only what one loves. All great historians are at the same time great patriots, and no one is a real historian who has not exhausted the depth of human nature, and knows how thoughts originate and passions are at work. The historian must display a certain ingenuity in guessing connections. He must be able to reply to the great enigmas of life, and must be a poet who understands how to shape material vigorously. All this was to be found in this wonderful man, and that is why he combined for the young people politics with philosophy and religion. "Whoever wishes to write history must have the heart of a lion," says Martin Luther; and so Treitschke writes: "Only a stout heart, grasping the meaning of the past of a country like personally experienced good and evil fortune, can truly write history." It is not perfection *of* form only, but depth of soul which

accounts for the greatness of ancient historians. Who will deny that thereby he portrayed his own picture? "The historian must be just, outspoken, indifferent to the sensitiveness of the Courts and fearless of the hatred, more powerful nowadays, of the educated rabble": these were the principles to which he adhered from his chair. Already in the first weeks of his Heidelberg years, when reading a good deal of Tacitus and Suetonius for my *New Testament Chronicle*, I had a very instructive conversation on this subject with him. I told him that in view of the strong antagonistic attitude taken up by the Roman aristocrats, I attached no greater value to their descriptions of the Cæsars than to the descriptions of Frederic the Great, by Onno Klopp, or to the contributors of the *Frankfürter Zeitung*. The pictures of Julius II and Leo X by Raphael, of Erasmus by Holbein, of Spinola by Rubens, of Lorenzo Medici by Giorgio Vasari, of old Charles V and Paul III by Titian, fully confirmed the descriptions of their biographers; as illustrations they fitted the text; on the other hand, the statues and busts of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula gave the lie to Tacitus and Suetonius. These marble heads always appeared to me like a silent and noble, yet convincing, protest against the calumny of hostile authors, just as the Philistine bust of Trajan taught me why Tacitus and Pliny valued him so highly, simply because he did not prevent *others from calumniating* the past. Treitschke

differed; Cesare Borgia's handsome features did not betray his vice; Tacitus, however, was a patriot completely absorbed in the interests of his people, who knew no higher aim than the greatness of his country, which could not be said of the *Frankfürter Zeitung*. He admitted that Tacitus had not kept the *sine ira et studio* which he promised; but this is not at all the duty of the historian. The historian should be capable of both anger and love—true passion sees clearer than all the cold-blooded sophists, and only the historian, writing from a party standpoint, introduces us to the life of the parties, and really guides us.

Treitschke's prestige amongst the students and in Society was, at that time, even more firmly established than among the professors. The circle of scholars affected mostly a disparaging compassion towards the *feuilletonist*, who perhaps could write an essay but no book, and just as the doors of the Berlin Academy opened to him, only shortly before his death—as he had not been a scientist, but merely a clever publicist—there sat in Heidelberg, in judgment over him, not only students of law and of the Talmud, but green, private University teachers, so that even now one feels reminded of Karl Hildebrand's words: "If to-day Thucydides were to appear before the public, no doubt a Waitz Seminarist would forthwith explain to him his lack of method." He also realized that a new volume of essays would not further his *scientific reputation*; but, he writes to Freytag:

"I am a thousand times more of a patriot than a professor, and with the real league of scientists I shall never be on good terms." As a matter of fact, Treitschke's chief merit did not lie in the knowledge he disseminated, but in the incomparable effect which his personality and his spirited words produced on susceptible young students. His motto was; "German every fibre." In reality, however, the fire of his speech was not due to German but to the Czech blood which still flowed in his veins. One felt reminded of what other nations had related regarding the impression a Bernard von Clairvaux, an Arnold von Brescia, or a Johannes Hus had produced upon them. Also the temperament of our German Chauvinist was not German but Slav. With all his sunny cheerfulness, he was at times for hours prone to deep melancholy. Quick to flare up and as easily appeased, bearing no malice, inconsiderate in his expressions yet kind in actions, reserved in his attitude but a good comrade, ready to assist—there was nothing in him of the German heavy and mistrustful temperament. He might just as well have been an Italian or Frenchman, although he had only bad words for the Latin race. An unfavourable circumstance was that students crowded to his lectures, but instead of subscribing to them merely attended. "Taking measures in this direction one spoils one's relations with the young people," he said; "but Häusser should *not have brought them* up this way." It even

turned out that in the absence of the college subscriptions he had relied upon he could not cover his house expenses; but Jolly stepped in and procured him a considerable additional salary. In Heidelberg he quickly felt at home, thanks particularly to his keen love of nature. After a short stay in another part of the town he moved into a pleasant flat on the Frillig Stift, but although deaf the noise of the main street affected his nerves. With childish joy he looked at the blooming lilac-trees in the court, behind which stood a pavilion bearing an inscription in Greek: "Look for the contents above," and which Treitschke interpreted as meaning that liqueurs were kept in the loft by the clergyman who had constructed it. Later on we moved, almost at the same time, to the other side of the Neckar River, and as the inhabitants belonged to a party the nickname "The Superfluous-ones" was originated for us. Treitschke settled on a fairly steep slope of a hill, which only permitted of an unimportant structure being built. Furthermore, as the contractor had erected the house by way of speculation, economy was exercised everywhere, and on one occasion the terrace had to be propped to prevent its dropping into the valley. But there were beautiful roses at both sides of the building, and, looking over old chestnut-trees, which screened the highway, one caught a glimpse of the river. It was touching to see how happy the young husband *felt in his new*, tiny home, in which he was most

hospitable. He had an inexhaustible desire to be among human beings, although he did not hear them.

Conversation with him was most peculiar, as, afraid to unlearn reading the movements of lips, he did not like people writing what they wished to convey to him. He completely abstained from using the hearing-trumpet, having suffered most terrible pains when everybody pressed forward to speak into it. Besides, an unsuccessful cure in Heidelberg had brought about his complete deafness. It was soon said that he understood me best, and consequently I was everywhere placed by his side. The secret consisted, however, only in my taking the trouble to place in front the catchword of what I intended to convey, repeating it by lip-movements until he understood what the conversation was about, whereupon he easily guessed the rest, my nodding or shaking the head assisting the suppositions. All the same, the pencil had to come to the rescue from time to time. If then, in the hurry, I wrote a word incorrectly and tried to alter it, he good-naturedly consoled me by saying that he burned all the bits of paper; and upon somebody telling him he had been able to study a complete conversation from the slips of paper which Treitschke had left on the table, he replied: "This was still more indecent than if you had been eavesdropping." At times I complained of his supplementing my notes a little too *freely, whereupon he* answered: "Such stories can

gain only by my embellishments." The duty of acting as his secretary in the Senate was a fairly unpleasant one. When a passionate explosion followed observations which were not to his liking, everybody looked furiously at me as if I had pushed burning tinder into the nostrils of the noble steed, and yet I had only written verbatim what had been said. For a time, therefore, I allowed many a bone of contention to drop underneath the table, but soon he found it out, and after several unpleasant discussions with both parties, I requested one of the younger men of the opposition to relieve me of my duties. Only when the gentlemen had convinced themselves that the result remained the same was I re-appointed. At that time his finding fault annoyed me, as my sole object was to avoid a quarrel; but later on I realized how justified he was in closely watching his writers. When for the last time he came to us, and when, drinking his health, I thanked him from the bottom of my heart for the happy moments his presence in my house had given, his neighbour noted down nothing of my speech beyond attacks against the capital and the Berlin student, whereupon he most indignantly reproved my South German prejudice. Fortunately, his wife, sitting opposite, immediately reported to him by finger signs, whereupon he at once cordially raised his glass. To take undue advantage of his affliction was, however, one of the sins he could not condone, and one had every reason to be careful in this respect. At

times curious misunderstandings happened. When once in the summer the Princess Wied with her daughter, subsequently Queen of Roumania, passed through Heidelberg, Treitschke was commanded to be present as guest at dinner. "Carmen Sylva," who already at that time took an active interest in literature, selected him as table-companion; he, however, not having understood the seneschal, and thinking his fair neighbour a maid-of-honour, entertained her politely, but persistently addressed her as "Mein gnädiges Fräulein" ("My dear Miss"). His clever and sacrificing wife never carried on conversation without at the same time listening whether he made himself understood with his neighbours, and, if necessary, rapidly helped by finger-signs, which she managed like an Italian, while continuing conversation with her own neighbour in most charming manner. Her friends knew only too well how trying this was for her. Fortunately, however, it usually happened that he remained the centre of interest, and everybody eagerly listened to his flow of conversation. When the neighbours forgot their duties he, visibly depressed, would look at the surrounding chattering crowd, whose words he did not hear, and when, after a great outburst of laughter, he asked the cause of the hilarity, we often were at a loss to explain to him the trivial motive. He himself has poetically described how since the loss of his sense of hearing nature, like a snow-clad country, had become

wrapped in silence, and how the happy youth, with aspiring temperament perceives a wall between himself and his brothers which will remain there for ever. To me the most touching of all his poems is the one in which he relates how he first became conscious of his deafness after a neglected, but in itself by no means dangerous, infantine disease (chicken-pox).

Without this ailment Treitschke would surely have joined the Army. Some of his relatives highly disapproved of his desire to become a private University teacher, and when inquiring what else there was for him to do in view of his affliction, a gentleman from Court, related to him, replied: "Well, why not the stable career"—a conception regarding the value of teaching which he never pardoned. Deafness remained the great sorrow of his life, and through it every enjoyment was driven away. In a touching moment he complained on a certain occasion to my wife that he would never hear the voice of his children. "They must be so sweet these children's voices!" And he loved children so! He played and romped about with his grandchildren; both sides understood each other capitally, and it sounded strangely when he who heard no note sang to them whilst they rode on his knee; but they liked it, applauded with their little hands, and often they came running and asking: "Grandpa, please sing to us." His deafness, however, did not prevent him from *travelling.* Since Rudolf Grimm, who had accom-

panied him to Italy, openly declared that these duties were too arduous, the deaf man traversed Europe quite alone. Whilst we were often afraid that he, when walking of an evening in the highway and disappearing in the dark, might be run over by a carriage coming from behind, as had happened to him in Berlin, from his inability to hear it, he calmly travelled about in foreign parts where all means of communication were exceedingly difficult for him. With the inauguration of the new shipping service he travelled to England, "in order to look at this English crew a little closer." When returning from Spain, which his friends had considered particularly risky, he, loudly laughing, entered their wine-bar, and before having taken off his coat he started to relate: "Well, now, these Spaniards!" In the same way he had traversed Holland and France in order to impress historical localities upon his memory. Considering the dangers and embarrassments he was exposed to through his lack of hearing, it will be admitted that unusual courage was necessary for these journeys, but he undertook them solely in order to supplement what had escaped him, through his deafness, in the tales of others.

The whole historical past of the country being ever present before his eyes, he, although deaf, derived more benefit from his travels than people in full possession of all senses. Just as when passing the Ehrenberg narrow pass he regretfully reflected that "Our Maurice" had not caught

Spanish Charles, so he sees, in Bruegge, Charles V in Spanish attire coming round the corner; in Geneva the oil paintings of Calvin and of his fellow-artists relate to him old stories; and in Holland the Mynheers and high and mighties on every occasion entered into conversation with him. His clear eyes were of such use to him that they amply compensated his loss of hearing. But, however strenuously he resisted, his affliction in many ways reacted upon his general disposition. There was something touching in the need for help of this clever and handsome man, and it cannot be denied that his amiability was partly its cause. We also told him that the world benefited by his retiring disposition, and that he was spared listening to the many stupidities and coarsenesses which so often spoilt our good humour. I firmly believe that being deaf he was able better to concentrate his thoughts, but the lack of control in hearing himself and hearing others speak and express themselves had a detrimental effect upon him. Sound having become practically a closed chapter to him whilst he was still a student, he spoke during the whole of his life in the manner of students and used the language of his student days. When once suggesting he should come an hour sooner to our daily meeting-place he greatly shocked the wives of counsellors present by replying: "Da ist ja kein Schwein da" (approximately meaning, "There won't be a blooming *soul there*"). When in the presence of several

officers at Leipzig he expressed the opinion that the new Saxon Hussar uniform was the nearest approach to a monkey's jacket, he came very near to having to fight a duel. Quite good-naturedly, without wishing to offend anybody, he compared the looks of a lady-student to a squashed bug. In Parliament likewise he was on a certain occasion unexpectedly called to order because he found it quite natural to speak of the haughtiness of Deputy Richter as if it were impossible to offend him. It had to be considered that not hearing himself he did not hear others speak, and Messrs Caprivi, Hahnke, Hinzpeter, and Güssfeld, who during the last years were his favourite targets for criticism, deserve great praise for putting up with his epigrams—his *bon-mots* certainly did not remain unknown in Berlin. His pulpit expressions also at times savoured of student slang, so that the worthy fathers of the University disapprovingly shook their wise heads. His friends, however, thought he was *ex lege* because of his deafness; and he was unique in that on the one hand he was the best educated, refined gentleman, with exquisite manners, yet when aroused he discharged a volley of invective hardly to be expected from such aristocratic lips; on the other hand, his sociable nature found the seclusion due to his deafness very oppressive. At times as a student in Heidelberg he had to endure periods of most abject melancholy, which, however, his strong nature always *succeeded in conquering.*

IV.

South Germany and Baden, even after the campaign of 1866, were a difficult field for Treitschke. Soon after the war he wrote to Gutschmid he did not relish returning to Baden as conditions there were "too awful." Even now this communicative comrade, who quite impartially considered the existence of the Small States a nuisance, had on every occasion to come into conflict with the Model State. He hated the system of Small States just because it diverted patriotism, the noblest human instinct, in favour of unworthy trifles. Politics were for him a part of ethics and the unity of Germany a moral claim. Particularists were therefore to him beings of morally inferior value. Only hesitatingly he admitted that the Badenese since 1866 had begun to mend their ways. "It is true," he wrote to Freytag, "that the conversion has made considerable progress, but it is noticeable more in the minds of the people than in their hearts." Nobody in the whole of Baden was, however, in favour of mediatization of the Small States, which he, in his Freiburg Essay entitled *Confederation and Single State*, had plainly demanded. The aim of the Single State to render conditions uniform is not our ideal to-day. We are quite content that the University of Leipzig should stand by the side of that of Berlin, that the traditions of Potsdam and Sans Souci should be preserved in the same way as those of Weimar

and Karlsruhe, and that Dresden and Munich art should be appreciated as much as that of Berlin. How many professors are there who would desire to see all German Universities under the same inspectorate as the Prussian ones? Unity as far as the outside world is concerned, variety internally, is our ideal, to which Treitschke likewise became reconciled after hearing that the Army and external politics would not be affected by internal polyarchy. Bismarck's temperate words to Jolly, "If I include Bavaria in the Empire I must make such arrangements as to make the people feel happy in it," contain more political wisdom than Treitschke's gay prescription: *Der Bien muss.* Compared with the errors of our ingenious friend, Bismarck's "political eye" and his infallible judgment of values and realities can be appreciated in its true light; under a weak Regent, Unitarian Germany would have become a new Poland, under a violent one a second Russia.

It, however, redounds to Treitschke's honour that one by one he renounced his first ideals, such as destruction of the Small States, Single State, Parliamentarism, humiliation of Austria, and free trade, subsequent to his having found in Bismarck his political superior. When Bismarck's dismissal taught him that in Prussia political impossibilities do not exist either, his eyes were opened to a good many other matters. Henceforth no complaint could be lodged against him regarding adoration of the Crown; rather the reverse was the case.

In 1867 Baden was for him merely *das Landle* (the little country), but all the same he apparently did not like to hear from us that our Grand Duchy comprised more square miles than his Kingdom of Saxony. He strictly adhered to his dogma of the Rhine Convention, tendencies to Napoleonic kingdoms—nay, he even attributed to them aims of aggrandizement. "What people thought of 1866"—so he relates in his essay on the Constitutional Kingdom—"becomes apparent from the painful exclamation of a well-meaning Prince to the effect: 'What a pity we were at that time not on Prussia's side, as we also should then have enlarged our territory.'" But as formerly in Freiburg, so here, he misunderstood the population. The fact that the developments in the summer of 1870 appeared to him like outpourings of the Holy Ghost only proves that the deaf man never understood the ways of our Palatines. Favourable disposition towards the Rhine Convention, which he suspected everywhere, was only to be found in the elegant Ultramontane circles in which he moved, and in the democratic journals which he for his own journalistic purposes read more than other people. It proved perhaps more correct when he wrote, "The South Germans quietly aspire to the Main with the reservation, however, to revile it in their journals."

Bismarck did not as yet enjoy general confidence, but had he wanted Baden the Chamber would not *have refused*. The factions in the town caused him

amusement; Heidelberg had the advantage of two political journals: the *Heidelberg Journal* and the *Heidelberg Zeitung*, which were both Liberal and had accomplished all that in a small town could be reasonably expected of them. On this subject he sketched, in his essay entitled *Parties and Factions* (1871), the following pleasant picture: "Who is not aware of how in towns of Central Germany two journals side by side eke out a bare and miserable existence, both belonging to the same party, yet, for the sake of their valued *clientèle*, constantly fighting like cats? Who does not know these journals of librarians outside whose door the editor stands on duty, a polite host, deferentially asking what the honourable public desires to partake of? *Tre fratelli tre castelli* still applies to our average press."

Filled by the desire to continue the worthy labours of the year 1866 he enthusiastically adopted Mathy's idea to include Baden in the North German Convention, and thought it unkind that Bismarck failed to honour Mathy's memorandum on the subject with a reply. If Prussia should not carry out her plans he was afraid the Pan-Germans in Baden would again become masters of the situation, and he added: "If Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden should go with Austria, even the European situation will assume a different physiognomy." All the same, he was at that time too closely in touch with Bismarck to advocate too strongly the Mathy plan in the *Annuals*. Treitsch-

ke stigmatized as obtrusive the Lasker Parliamentary Bill of February, 1871, Lasker acting as attorney for the Badenese Government, which he was not, and surprising Bismarck with his proposal without having first consulted him.

Mathy's death on February 4, 1868, affected Treitschke all the more as Mathy had influenced him considerably in his decision to gain for a second time a footing in Baden. Besides, Treitschke warmly remembered Mathy's beautiful trait in assisting younger men whom he considered promising. "You belong to the few," Freytag admitted to him, "who have fully grasped Mathy's love and faith." It was, however, not only Mathy's sweetness of character which he had detected beneath the caustic ways of the old Ulysses, but also his political reliability. "I still cannot get over it," he mournfully wrote to Freytag; "among all the old gentlemen of my acquaintance he was to me the dearest and the one deserving of greatest respect." "The real Badenese," he said in another letter, "never really cared for their first politician, and your book again shows clearly the sin for which Mathy never will be pardoned—character." Another letter to the same friend in August, 1868, runs as follows: "Here in the South the disintegration of order continues. The recent Constitutional Festival has vividly reminded me of our never-to-be-forgotten Mathy. How the world has changed in twenty-five years *since Mathy* organized the last Badenese Con-

stitutional Festival! Thank goodness, the belief in this particularist magnificence has to-day completely disappeared. The festival was an ostensible failure, a forced and feigned demonstration. The Ultramontanes kept aloof because they hated Jolly and Beyer, and the Nationalists who participated for that reason openly admitted that they had longed for the happy end of the old man." His depreciative opinion of the conditions in Baden finally developed into slight when a few weeks after the Constitutional Festival the ministerial candidates Bluntschli, Lamey, and Keifer, who had gone over on the formation of the new Ministry, attempted to overthrow the Ministry favourably disposed towards Prussia by convoking the Liberal deputies at Offenburg. In the Prussian *Annuals* he now called upon his North German friends in disdainful terms to study the pamphlet of these gentlemen against Jolly, in order to gain a somewhat more correct idea of the political state of affairs in Baden. In his opinion it was a sort of "Züriputsch" arranged by the Swiss gentlemen, Bluntschli, Schenkel, and Renaud. It might have applied as far as Heidelberg was concerned, but the country was really attached to Lamey, whose name was tied up with the fall of the Concordat, and whose canon laws of 1860, making a Catholic country of Baden, were at that time praised by all of us as the corner-stone of liberty and political wisdom. Treitschke's only answer to Bluntschli's *agitation for energetic* revision of the Constitution

was to leave the Paragon State in its present form until Prussia would absorb the whole. The attempt to overthrow the Ministry failed as the Regent had been left out of account. In Heidelberg, Treitschke, at an assembly of citizens, took up the cudgels for Jolly, and was principally opposed by Schenkel, who declared that he would not allow himself to be threatened by the sword of Herr von Beyer. Surprised, Bluntschli, however, wrote in his diary that the citizens applauded Treitschke, who spoke for Jolly, no less than Schenkel, who spoke against him. When the whole question was brought before a second and very largely-frequented assembly of the Liberal Party in Offenburg, Bluntschli made Goldschmidt and Treitschke's other friends promise that Treitschke should abstain from speaking as he would upset all peace proposals. The latter, however, immediately declared he could not be forced to maintain silence. At least a thousand men congregated from all parts of the country, more than the big hall "Zum Salmen" was capable of holding. Eckard, subsequently Manheim bank manager, sat in the chair; on the part of the Fronde, Kieper, instructed by Jolly, spoke, and for Jolly, Kusel from Karlsruhe addressed the meeting. Treitschke as a Prussian allowed the Badenese to speak first, and only towards the finish did he ascend the platform. A contributor of the *Taglische Rundschau* gave the following account: "The meeting had *lasted for a* considerable time, and the audience,

after standing for hours closely packed in the heavy, hot air, was tired, when a person unknown to us started speaking. His delivery was slow and hesitating, with a peculiar guttural sound, and his intonation was monotonous. Citizens and peasants amongst whom I stood looked at each other astonished and indignant. Who was this apparently not very happy speaker who dared to claim the patience of the assembly? We were told it was Professor Treitschke of Heidelberg. At first ill-humoured, but soon with growing interest, we followed his speech, which gradually became more animated. The power and depth of thoughts the compelling logic proofs adduced, the clearness and force of language, and above all the fire of patriotism, all this captivated the listeners and carried them irresistibly away. The outward deficiencies of the lecturer were now unobserved; attentively with breathless excitement, these simple people listened to the orator, who spoke with the force of the holiest conviction; and when finishing with the exhortation to set aside all separating barriers for the sake of the country, a real hurricane of enthusiasm broke forth. The audience crowded round the speaker and cheered him; he was lifted by strong arms amid ceaseless enthusiasm. It was the climax of the day. Never since have I witnessed a similar triumph of eloquence."

He had appealed particularly to the peasants present by his outspoken and simple words. *Schenkel likewise* was disarmed. Heidelberg

friends related how Schenkel, who in Heidelberg had contested Treitschke's speech in favour of Jolly, immediately afterwards advanced towards the platform in order to speak, but Treitschke's utterances had rendered unnecessary a rejoinder. When, on the other hand, I asked Treitschke after his return whether in his opinion peace would be a lasting one, he replied: "Oh, Lord, no! the lack of character is much too great." In a still more disdainful manner and full of passionate exasperation against Bluntschli he wrote to Freytag: "Jolly understands very well how to assert himself here; daily he cuts a piece off the big Liberal list of wishes, but immediately a new one grows beneath. Where is this to lead? Moreover, there are blackguards like this miserable Bluntschli at the head of the patriots! Nokk, my brother-in-law, who is well able to judge the situation, has long ago despaired of a peaceful solution."

In January, 1870, whilst staying at Heidelberg, and shortly before the outbreak of war, the second collection of historic political essays was published. The editor's intention was to publish them before Christmas, but Treitschke delayed matters. "I hate everything suggestive of business," he told me, "and I don't want to belong to the Christmas authors." He was also averse to editions in parts. The essay on Cavour, which shortly afterwards appeared translated in Italian, brought him the Italian Commander Cross—a necklace, as his wife *said. When one* of his friends had fallen in dis-

grace on account of a biting article in the *Weser Zeitung* attributed to him, Treitschke said: "If the man wants to carry a chamberlain's key and six decorations, he might as well have the muzzle belonging to it"; and when asking him whether this also applied to him, he replied: "No, but I have not been asking for it." This volume of historic essays contained the treatise on the Republic of the Netherlands—full of sparkling descriptions of Holland and her national life, which proved that not in vain had he brought his *Briefje van de uuren van hat vertrekk*, i. e. his railway booklet for the land of the frogs and the ducats. Particularly weighty, however, was his essay on French Constitution and Bonapartism, in which he proved that Bonapartism had revived, thanks to the Napoleonic fundaments of State having remained, a circumstance which even after the fall of Napoleon III, and in spite of all their defeats, made him believe in the return of the Bonapartes. His essay *On the Constitutional Kingdom*, forming part of this collection, and containing views on the wretchedness of Small State Court life; on the poverty of thought and the rudeness of the South German Press; on the South German's respectful awe of the deeds of Napoleon, the national arch-enemy; and on the bustling vanity of Church authorities, could not create a great impression after his previous and much stronger dissertations. He himself was dejected owing to the scantiness of enthusiasm aroused by his per-

sistent appeals "to discard decayed political power," to upset the Napoleonic crowns and to continue the laudable efforts of 1866. Some friends likened his situation to that of Börne, who is the object of criticism in one of the essays, and who, in his Paris letters, always predicted anew the revolution which always failed to materialize. By Napoleon's declaration of war "this sturdy century" took the last stride towards its goal.

Being a border power, Baden naturally feared the war which Treitschke was pining for. At that time already his mind was clear as to the weakness of the Empire, and the profligate stupidity of the French people. Being constantly in touch with Berlin he was better informed regarding certain developments than we were. When speaking to him for the first time after the declaration of war he solemnly said: "I think of the humiliation we escaped! If Bismarck had not drawn up so cleverly the telegram on the Benedetti affair the King would have yielded again." At the general drinking bout improvised by the students prior to going to the front or to barracks, Treitschke was received as if he had been the commander-in-chief, and he certainly was on that evening. The speech of Pro-Rector Bluntschli, opening the ball, had a decidedly sobering effect. He pointed out how many a young life would come to an early end, how many a handsome fortune would be lost, how many a house and village would be burned to ashes, *etc.* The speech was written down, and when

shown to Treitschke he merely said, "S'isch halt a Schwizer" ("He is, after all, only a Swiss"). Capital words by Zeller followed: "We have heard the crowing of the Gallic cock, and the roaring of Mars; but there is only one to tame wild Ares, and that is Pallas Athene, the Goddess of Clever Strategy, and upon her we rely." When, subsequently, Treitschke rose, applause and acclamations prevented him for some time from making himself heard. His speech expressed joy at the events happening in our lifetime, and exhortations to prove as worthy as the fighters of 1813. Ideas and colour of speech were as countless as the bubbles in a glass of champagne, but they intoxicated. His magnificent peroration terminated approximately in the following manner: "Fichte dismissed German youth to the Holy War with the motto, 'Win or die'; but we say, 'Win at any price!'" Already he had received a more cordial reception than anyone, but now hundreds rushed forward with raised glasses eager to drink his health. The shouts of enthusiasm threatened the safety of floor and ceiling. As one crowd receded, so another surged round him, just as waves beget waves. I have seen many teachers honoured under similar circumstances, all with a smile of flattered vanity on their lips, but never had homage assumed such proportions. Treitschke's face showed outspoken joy at these warm-hearted young people, who surely would not fail to give a *good account* of themselves, and it was

distinctly annoying to him that the following winter he had to give lectures to those who had not joined the ranks. He was, however, deeply moved at the nation having risen as one man, and he apologized for all the unkind words he had uttered previously. Later on, he wrote: "During those days in Germany it seemed as if humanity had improved." The song on the Prussian eagle, which from Hohenzollern flew towards the north and now returns southwards—a subject inspired by Baumgarten— is a beautiful memento of his elated feelings at that time.

During the ensuing period he led a surprisingly retired life, and we heard only that he was writing. When meeting him shortly before the days of Saarbruck, he looked pale and excited. "What a long time it takes," he said, "for such great armies to be brought together! The tension is almost unbearable." He was visibly ill with excitement. When the days of Wörth and Spichern had happily passed, we met at the Museum to study the telegrams which arrived hourly. He, however, failed to turn up, and it was said he was writing. There was a good deal of simulated activity about, but for him there was nothing in particular to do. At last his excellent essay, *What We Demand of France*, saw the light of day, and at the same time it appeared in the Prussian *Annuals*. Now it was evident what he had been doing in seclusion. Everybody was amazed at the mass of detail *collected during* the short interval, in order to

impress the reader with the thoroughly German character of Alsace. Of almost every little town he knew a story by which it became intertwined with the German past. There was Alsatian local tradition galore in the book, as if he at all times had lived with these people. To his mind the fact that the Alsatians at the time would not hear of Germany did not make them French. "The mind of a nation is not formed by contemporary generations only, but by those following." Erwin von Steinbach and Sebastian Brandt, also, were of some account, and, after reviewing the German past of the country, he asks: "Is this millennium, rich in German history, to be wiped out by two centuries of French supremacy?" In regard to the future of Alsace he was from the first convinced it would have to become a Prussian province, as Prussian administration alone possessed the power to rapidly assimilate it. Only when convinced of the realization of Unitarian ideas a Prussian, as he now always called himself, could desire to see a frontier of Prussia extending from Aachen to Mulhouse. To make out of Alsace an independent State, enjoying European guarantee of neutrality, as proposed by Roggenbach in the Reichsrath, would have meant creating a new Belgium on our south-west coast, in which the Catholic Church would have been the only reality, and Treitschke, in his essay of 1870, replied thereto by referring to the "disgusting aspect of the nation Luxemburg*oise," although in the Annuals* he ostensibly spared

the quaint statesman, who was his friend. "Let us attach Alsace to the Rhine Province," he said; "we shall then have a dozen more opposition votes in Parliament, and what does that matter? The rest you leave to Prussian administration." Neither we nor he could foresee that in thirty years it would not achieve more; but he did not fail to point out that the only cause of the failure was the creation of the "Reichsland," a hybrid which was neither fish nor flesh. He, however, shared Freytag's aversion for the title of Emperor, which, in his opinion, bore too much of black, red, gold, and Bonapartist reminiscences. Both wished for a German King; but finally Bluntschli's common-sense prevailed, he having suggested, "The peasant knows that an Emperor is more than a King, and for that reason the Chief of an Empire must be called Emperor; besides, it will be better for the three Kings; they will then know it, too," saying which the stout Swiss laughed heartily.

On the other hand, Treitschke never became reconciled to Bavaria's reserved rights. He spoke of a new treaty of Ried, similar to that which, in 1813, guaranteed sovereignty to Bavaria, and expressed anger at the weakly Constitution which reverted again to federalism. With malicious joy he reported that the former Pan-Austrian fogy, when examining students for the degree of Doctor of Law, now always questioned on Bavarian reserved rights. The whole arrangement with *Bavaria and* Würtemberg appeared to him "like

a Life Insurance Policy of the Napoleonic crowns with his magnanimous Prussia, which compelled him to adjourn his Unitarian plans *ad Græcas calendas.*"

It is also peculiar to what a small extent he shared in the triumphant tone displayed everywhere after the war. Sybel's essay, *What We might Learn of France*, had his full approval. He was disgusted with the way the journalists in the newspapers, the teacher in the chair, and the clergyman in the pulpit gave vent to their patriotic effusions. In his letters he likewise spoke slightingly of the modern customary orations regarding German virtue and French vice. The more he disliked the remnants of particularism in the new Constitution, the less he was disposed to admire the Germans, who, in his opinion, had forfeited the greatest reward of great times by their own individualism. This it was which distinguished him from the ordinary Chauvinist, and only too well he realized in how many things the nation, in spite of all successes, had remained behind his ideals.

Nobody, however, has given more beautiful expression to the deep and serious thoughts with which we celebrated peace in 1871. Like a prayer-book we read the essay in the *Annuals*, in which he opened his heart. He himself had lost his only brother at Gravelotte, my wife hers at La Chartre. The Prussian nobility was in mourning; he, however, consoled us: "May common grief still more than great successes unite our people formerly at

variance with each other. Rapidly die away the shouts of victory, long remain the deep lines of grief. Who will count the tears which have been shed around the Christmas-tree? Who has seen the hundred thousand grieved hearts from the Alps to the sea, who, like a big, devout community, have pinned their faith again to the splendour of the Fatherland?" Actuated by the same sentiments, I had preached, shortly before, in the Church of the Holy Spirit, on "Blessed are ye who have suffered," and therefore could doubly appreciate his efforts to touch the people's innermost feelings. His words have never been forgotten.

V.

The few years which Treitschke spent in Heidelberg after the war were, as he himself admitted, the happiest of his life. His tiny house, overlooking the Neckar and Rhine Valley, was for him a constant source of joy, and proudly he would take his visitors to the top of the vineyard, from which the Speyer Dom and Donner Mountain, near Worms, were visible. Immediately adjacent to his property excavations had been made in times gone by, and even now bricks and fragments of pottery, bearing the stamp of the Roman Legation were to be found. Thus he had historical ground even under his feet. When, occasionally, on my return from a visit about midnight, I still saw *lights in his* study, I could not refrain from think-

ing of Schiller, who, likewise, found the late hours of night most propitious for his creations. It would be a mistaken idea to think that Treitschke, vivaciously as he lectured, wrote his works without exhaustive preparations. He just served as a proof that genius and industry go hand-in-hand. Thanks to his iron constitution, he could work until two o'clock in the morning, yet be gay and full of life the following day. Surrounded by his small crowd of children—two girls and a boy—and with his elegant and slim-looking wife by his side, he felt truly happy. It was a thoroughly aristocratic and harmonious home, which in every detail betrayed the gentle and tasteful hand of his spouse. There was something distinctly humorous in his peculiar ways, which made the visitor feel at home. Above all, he was completely unaware of the noise he made. Baumgarten, who was nervous, and worked with him in the Archives, declared that not only was the throwing of books and constant moving of his chair unbearable, but also his uncontrollable temper. On one occasion, Treitschke took up the register he had been studying, and jumping about the room on one leg, shouted, "Aegidi, Aegidi!" It appeared that in the Ambassador's Report of the Prussian Diet of 1847 he had found a memorial of his friend Aegidi stud. juris in Heidelberg, which the Ambassador had communicated to Berlin with a view to showing the present spirit of German students, and which started with the following declaration: "Like the

Maid of Orleans before the King of her country, so I, a German youth, come before the noble Diet in order to give proof of the patriotic wishes agitating youth." Similar humorous outbursts of his temperament occurred, of course, at home as well. He at times experienced difficulties with his toilette. The ladies, then, had to manipulate him into a corner to adjust his tie or collar. In Scheveningen, where he occupied a room next his family, he once rushed out on the general balcony when unable to manipulate a button, shouting, "Help! help!" so that the phlegmatic Dutch neighbours looked out of the windows, thinking a great misfortune had happened. The importunity with which some people asked for autographs, and others for copies of his books, his photograph, or a memento of some kind, provided his keen sense of propriety with excellent material for displaying originality. All this, however, was done in such a humorous fashion that his company proved most amusing. He behaved towards his students with strictness, although he was gay enough when addressing them from the chair. They idolized him, but at all times he kept them at a distance.

When the University filled again for the winter term, 1871–1872, Treitschke had gained among the students a position second to none. His lectures on modern history, politics, and the Reformation, were crowded, and his descriptive powers always thrilled his audience. Häusser's force had been *his irony;* with Treitschke, humour and pathos

alternated like thunder and lightning. Even listeners of more matured age admitted that they had never heard anything that could be compared with his natural elementary eloquence. Unable to hear the clock strike, he had arranged with those sitting in front to make a sign at a given hour; but, as nobody wished him to discontinue, he often unduly prolonged his lectures. Now and then ladies turned up. At first he informed them by letter that he could not permit their presence, but when they persisted in coming he told the porter to refuse them entrance, and angrily added his intention of putting up a notice similar to those in front of anatomical theatres: "For gentlemen only!" When meeting his colleagues he never even hinted at the striking success he scored with his audience. His disposition was anything but over-confident, and he associated just as cordially with those whose academic failures were notorious—provided he appreciated them otherwise—as with the past-masters, whose level was as high as his own. He never referred at all to the demonstrations which students made in his favour. In the choice of his friends, as well as in the choice of his enemies, he was aristocratic, but vain he was not. Enthusiastic patriotism was the keynote of his life, and this explains its æsthetics. A sensitive admirer of nature, appreciating as keenly as anybody the lovely scenery of the ruins of Heidelberg Castle, he nevertheless favoured the *re-building of the* same, obsessed by the idea

that it must become the palace of the German King. His literary opinions could easily be gauged as his compass always pointed towards Prussia. When he invited us to an evening, we knew beforehand we should read the *Prince of Homburg*, or some similar work. This explains also his predilection for Kleist, and for Uhland, the patriot. Of Hebbel's works—he was about to prepare an analysis of them in a new form for publication in the essays—the Nibelungs were his favourite. Did he not himself bear resemblance to Siegfried, who plans to chain up the perfidious Danish Kings outside the gate, where, as they had behaved like dogs, they were to bark on his arrival and departure? This was quite his style of thinking, just as at the Théâtre Français my travelling companion, when listening to the patriotic ravings of Ernani, the highwayman, whispered to me: "Exactly like Treitschke!" Not only *The Trousers of Herr von Bredow*, of which he knew considerable parts by heart, but Brandenburg poetry in general, gave him great pleasure. He even shielded Hesekiel and Scherenberg against attacks; and the scruples of learned men respecting Freytag's *Ingo and Ingraban* were suppressed by him. Turbulent men were to his liking; the criticisms of German Law History and of the Spruner Atlas regarding these descriptions had, to his mind, nothing to do with poetry. Whatever met with the approval of his patriotism could be sure of his *appreciation*. My first two novels met with a very

friendly reception in the Press, as, thanks to my pseudonym, "George Taylor," quite different authors had been suspected. No sooner, however, had the wise men from the East discovered that a theologian had been the author than, on the appearance of the third novel, entitled *Jetta*, they vented their rage at having been deceived. Treitschke, however declared *Jetta* to be the best of the three books. He liked the Alemans for the thrashing they had given the Romans, and that settled the matter as far as he was concerned. The way the learned fraternity censured Hermann Grimm appeared stupid to him, like school pedantry. He realized as well as anybody else the defects and mistakes, but he called it childish spite to take to task such an ingenious author for all sorts of blunders and amateurish trivialities when he had original views, and had created a picture of culture such as the life of Michelangelo. In the same way he stood up for living and not for dead writers, in spite of the opposition of the learned fraternity; but he did not, however, defend their superficiality or phrase-making.

The great literary post-bellum events were *The Old and the New Faith*, by Strauss, and the revival of Schopenhauer pessimism by Hartmann and Nietzsche, books which—albeit different in form, yet related in their fundamental views of the world—appeared to Treitschke, in view of the melancholy tone adopted, like an inexplicable *phenomenon. How* could anybody be a pessimist

in times like the present, when it was a pleasure to be alive? Of Hartmann he said: "This is the philosophy of the Berliner when suffering from phthisis." With olympic roars of laughter he derided, over a glass of beer, Hartmann's sentimentality and his many discussions whether the feelings of pleasure or displeasure predominate in human nature. After all, Hartmann had left us the consolation of Nirvana; but Nietzsche, by his revival theory, deprived us of the consoling thought of peacefulness after death. Nietzsche's first essay on the origin of tragedy had met with Treitschke's approval. Was he not himself to adopt the Nietzschean phrase of "a dithyrambic disposition"? and, to him, Socratic natures were likewise unsympathetic. In his criticism on Strauss he gave proof of his aversion to Socratic dispositions, an aversion which he shared with Nietzsche. He was the only one of our circle who defended Nietzsche's essay and criticized Strauss's *Old and New Faith.* He would not admit the merits of a book which represents the materialistic theory in transparent clearness, and thereby brings defects to light which cannot be overlooked. He simply went by results. A book, which as far as we, the enlightened ones, were concerned, sought a last consolation in music, had to be somewhat disagreeable to him, deaf as he was. But he would not even admit Strauss's beauty of style. "Beautiful style by itself does not exist," he said. "*A style is beau*tiful when the writer is represented

by it. Style should faithfully express the nature and temperament of the author. With Lessing, I admire the clear statements, because they are natural to this clear dialectician; but with Strauss they do not belong to the man, as with Lessing, but to the essay." Strauss's style just lacked the personal element. If Strauss, on the other hand, found Treitschke's style indigestible, the contrast is thereby quite correctly characteristic. While patriotic pathos dominated the one, the other one was, throughout, reflective and logical; that is to say, the one was a dithyramb and the other one a Socratic nature. I could not always share Treitschke's clearly formed opinions, but we were all grateful to him for the interest with which he invested conversation, and for his ability to maintain it. His own activity was that of an artist as well as that of a scientist. Impressions of his travels through all the valleys of Germany, poetry, newspaper extracts, conversations and humorous stories of friends, were always at his command, and these, combined with accurate studies from the Archives and information verbally received, enabled him to shape his work. Considering his system of gathering information, it was inevitable that occasionally he was provided with unauthentic news, for, as soon as conversation arose on a subject useful to him, his pocket-book appeared, and he asked to have the story put down. When I once wrote for him that, at the outbreak of the *Army mutiny in* Karlsruhe, a picture of Grand

Duke Leopold was exhibited in all the libraries, with the verse:

Zittert ein Tyrann von Revolutionen,
Du Leopold kannst ruhig thronen.
Dein Volk verlasst Dich nicht

(Though a tyrant may dread revolution,
Thou, O Leopold, mayest safely reign.
Thy people will not forsake thee),

he immediately placed the piece of paper separately and said, "This will appear in the sixth volume"; but it never saw the light of day. I personally could vouch for the correctness of my story, but how easy it was to obtain wrong information under these circumstances, and, as a matter of fact, all sorts of protests against his anecdotes were raised after each publication. It is notorious how circumstantially he subsequently had to explain or contradict the story of the silver spoon of Prince Wrede, the Red Order of the Eagle of Privy Councillor Schmalz, and many other things, and much more frequently still he promised correction in the subsequent edition to those who had lodged complaints. We were very much annoyed at the injustice with which he, in the fifth volume, characterized the Grand Duke Leopold, who was exceedingly conscientious and benevolent. When attacking him for it in our domestic circle, he declared that every petty State had its idol, and that we ought *to break ourselves* of it as others had done.

Treitschke's tales from the Reichstag provided a rich source of amusement. When entering Parliament, in 1871, all friends were of opinion the deaf man would not stand it long, and his enemies mockingly remarked: "It is right he should be there." But the canvassing tour in itself proved a great recreation for him, and if he had achieved nothing beyond the strengthening, by his fiery speeches, of the German sentiment of people on the Hunsrück and in the Nahe Valley, this gain alone was worth the trouble. His efficiency in Berlin exceeded all expectations. He sat next to the shorthand writers, and after having grasped their system of abbreviations, he followed the speeches, and thus was often better informed than those who sneered at the deaf deputy. It was more difficult for him to attend at Committee sittings, but his friend Wehrenpfennig kept him informed as far as possible. As all parties decided in committee how to vote, Treitschke's speeches *in plenum* really were of value for the public only, but the reputation of the Reichsrath certainly was considerably enhanced by the fact that people who liked reading the parliamentary proceedings were able to find the speeches reproduced in the newspapers. The orations of "the deaf man who had no business in Parliament" are, with the exception of Bismarck's, after all, the only ones which, after his death, have been edited in book form from the protocols, and even to-day they are a source of *political information* and patriotic elevation. It

was a great event when the circle of friends in Heidelberg heard that Treitschke had delivered his maiden speech in the Reichstag, and great was our joy when we read that in this first speech he had vehemently attacked the Ultramontanes.

Deputy Reichensperger moved that, with a view to safeguarding the liberty of the Press, Unions and the Church Articles III–V of the Frankfort fundamental laws should be incorporated in the Constitution of the Empire. Treitschke started by declaring that the nation's hope of a temporary continuance, at any rate in Parliament, of the noble spirit of unanimity which, during the war, had raised Germany above other nations, had been defeated by the Ultramontanes. At the beginning of the German Reichstag, we have heard the Empire of the Papal King, the Republic of Poland, and the Empire of the Guelfs discussed, while I had hoped we should now have firmly established progress in our territory, and would look hopefully towards the future. It is impossible to believe that the great question of State and Church could be solved by a four-line sentence. In order to bring about the Constitution every party was obliged to make sacrifices. The disturbers of the peace are now exactly those gentlemen who always assert that they are the oppressed minority. Now, gentlemen, if this were true, I must say that they endured their oppression with a very small measure of Christian patience. If fundamental *laws should* become incorporated with the New

Constitution, he continued, why have Mr. Reichensperger and his associates forgotten the principal ones? The article is lacking; "science and its dogma are free," a principle the adoption of which would be highly beneficial to the Catholic Theologic Faculties. Why is the definition lacking respecting civil marriage law? In this way he ruthlessly tore off the opponents' masks, as if they had aimed at liberty. When Bishop Kettler had uttered a warning to speak a little more modestly, and with less confidence of the future of an Empire which had as yet to be founded, Treitschke ironically pointed to the great progress made considering that Kettler no longer sat in Parliament as Bishop of Mayence, but owed his seat to the poll of an electoral district. If the movers of the bill were to point out they demanded nothing beyond what the Prussian Constitution had taken over long before from the Frankfort Constitution, they betrayed thereby their intention to give the Bishops in this article the possibility of scoffing at the laws of the country by appealing to the law of the Empire. In Baden they had undergone too many experiences in this respect to be deceived any longer. But the German nation is sensible and honest enough to understand that these poor articles are not fundamental laws, but aim at procuring, by a side-issue, an independent position for the Catholic Church as regards the State. He therefore thought he did no injustice to the *movers of the bill* when he expressed the belief that

the Press and Unions were only a momentary addition to their proposal, but that their real intention was directed to the independence of the Catholic Church. The defeat of the Ultramontanes was as complete as possible, and there existed no other more pressing matter for which Treitschke could have acted as champion on behalf of Baden. In parliamentary matters he was now, likewise, recognized as the worthy successor of Häusser. The general belief that Treitschke owed his great success to mannerism was dispelled by his speeches in the Reichstag. It was not rhetoric or pathos which scored, but the force of conviction. He spoke better than others because he had grasped the thought of liberty, and of nationality, with more ardour than they had. To him more than to any other speaker the words of Cato senior applied: "Keep firmly in mind the subject and the words will follow."

In a further speech on the law on July 9, 1871, he woefully surrendered his ideal to see Alsace Lothing a province of Germany, but all the more energetically he opposed the desire of a party, supported by Roggenbach, to form Alsace into a State. If it was not to become part of the Prussian State it should, at least, be a province of the German Empire, reigned over by the Emperor, and not become a new Small State. The Alsatian public servants should frequently be transferred, even to Schwelm, and to Stallupönen, so that they should get to know Germany. Neither was he in

favour of having a Lord Lieutenant appointed. "Such a prince makes the worst public servant, because he is obliged to act as if his house were a Court. The elements of Society which could be attracted by these countless gewgaws are such that I, at any rate, would with pleasure dispense with their support." Neither in Strasburg nor in Heidelberg or Berlin did this particular speech meet with great approbation, but who will assert to-day that he was wrong? All the more approved was his speech of November 2, 1871, in which he demanded the intervention of the Empire to procure for Mecklenburg the privileges of the Estates of the Realm. A great impression was produced when he pointed out that, of half a million inhabitants, no less than 60,000 people had emigrated within the last fifteen years from this little country richly blessed by nature. In his indignation he ever adopted a tone which, hitherto, one was wont to hear only at democratic meetings. He pointed out that conditions in Mecklenburg had become the butt of humour. "It is dangerous when the patient German people begin to sneer. That scornful laughter over the old German Diet and the King of the Guelfs carried on for many years has led to very serious consequences; it has brought about the well-known end of all things. The star of unity is in the ascendant. Woe betide the State which wilfully secludes itself from this mighty and irresistible impulse; sooner or later the catastrophe will overtake it." In the same way as

these threatening words had created a great impression in Parliament, so they found an enthusiastic echo in our circle; and equally great was his success when he supported the supplementing of the Penal Code by the so-called Pulpit Paragraph, by which he again told the bitter truth to the Ultramontanes. For the last time before prorogation of Parliament he spoke on November 29, 1871, when the progressive party renewed the old controversy on parliamentary co-operation regarding Army Estimates. Treitschke was strongly in favour of the War Minister's views; he availed himself, however, of this occasion to attack strongly von Mühler, the Minister of Public Instruction, and when called to order by the Conservatives he replied: "See that a capable man is appointed at the head of the Ministry of Public Instruction who bestows only the tenth part of that energy which the Minister for War is in the habit of bestowing upon his department; you will then have practical experience that one thing can be done, and that another cannot be left undone." On the whole, the Baden Deputies returned from Berlin in a very dejected mood. Of Bluntschli, the Berlin newspapers had written that his delivery gave the impression he was dictating his speeches. He had remained obscure—that he knew; but consoled himself with the thought that it took time to find the tone for such a big assembly. Of Roggenbach, who, with all his brilliant conversational gifts, completely lacked oratorical powers,

a gay Palatine country judge, who was also a member of the Reichstag, said: "If this is your most brilliant statesman I should like to come across your most stupid one." In the same way the others returned like a beaten army, for not the remotest comparison existed between the part played by them in Berlin and the one played by them in Karlsruhe at the Municipal Hall. Only one appeared with laurels, and this one was Treitschke, who had saved our reputation. He was also welcomed home as heartily as possible; although Baumgarten said at the time, in a morose tone, that Treitschke never considered a law proposal favourably unless he had delivered a speech on it. The Ultramontanes, however, considered the game unevenly matched. While he overwhelmed them with the strongest expressions, they could not hit back because he did not hear them. In an identical fashion the second session, 1873–1874, passed, which Treitschke still attended from Heidelberg, and the "round table" applauded his brilliant passages of arms. Many of his winged words have survived to the present day, as, for instance, his explanation of the request of German issuing banks for paper (money) "based on a deeply founded desire in human nature"; or "making debts without getting interest on them"; or his sneering remarks about the predilection of South Germans for Bavarian military helmets and dirty florin notes. His patriotism again rose to its full height when discussions on the septennate took

place, when the same party, whose chaplains in the Black Forest had falsely told the constituents that "septennate" meant serving for seven successive years, complained in Parliament that they were called the enemies of the Empire, he referred to their behaviour, and for simplicity's sake began with the Pope.

"Who was it who expressed the devout Christian wish that a little stone might fall from heaven to shatter the feet of the German Colossus? Those who consider the author of this ingenious pronouncement infallible would only have confessed publicly to this wish after Germany had lost a battle, and which God forbid. Meanwhile, Prussia was the little stone which had opened the doors of the Eternal City to united and free Italy, and at the same time had annihilated the most sinful Small State of that part of the globe. In similar strain he spoke on December 17, 1874, to Deputy Winterer, who demanded the abolition of the School Law granted the preceding year to Alsace Lothing. In opposition to Winterer's hymns on the achievements of the school brethren he read extracts from their rules which prescribed in which case the brother has to rise before the superior, in which case to kneel down, and in which case he *only* had to kiss the floor. "Gentlemen," he asked the Ultramontanes, "I am indeed curious to know whether there is anything worse than the naked floor the devout school brother is to kiss." When *the gentlemen* of the clerical party expressed the

wish to save the ecclesiastical and French spirit of their public schools he replied in unmistakable fashion: "We have the intention to Germanize this newly acquired German province; we have the intention and will carry it out." Strong applause, and hissing in the centre, was the usual result of his speeches during this session. The return took place under conditions similar to those of last year, only the depression at the modest part played by the Baden Deputies in their Reichstag was still greater, and Jolly, at any rate, did not refrain from remarking that the quarrelsome disposition of the Liberal leaders, which immediately made itself felt at the opening debate of the Baden Chamber in November, 1873, arose from the desire of the gentlemen to gain in the Karlsruhe Rondel Hall the laurels which had been denied to them in the Reichstag. But Treitschke's appreciation of the Reichstag likewise waned from session to session. Already, in 1879, he wrote the following words in the Reichstag album: "Let us not be deceived, gentlemen; the pleasure our population experienced by participating in parliamentary life has considerably decreased in comparison with the days when the mere existence of Parliament was held to be the beginning of the era of liberty. But how should it be otherwise? I believe we are blessed with 4000 deputies in the German Empire. It would be against the nature of things if such an excessive number did not, in the end, become boring and tedious to the population." When his

calculation was contested, he wrote a few years later: "*Quousque tandem* is on everybody's lips when in good Society mention is made of those parliamentary speech floods which now, for months past, have rushed forth again in Berlin, Munich, and Karlsruhe, as if from wide opened sluices; 3000 Members of Parliament, that is to say, one representative of the people for every 3000 citizens. Too much of a good thing even for German patience. More and more frequently the question is raised whether by such sinful waste of money and time anything else can be effected beyond a noise as useless as the clattering of a wheel whose axle is broken."

On July 11, 1879, he announced his retirement from the National Liberal faction on the rejection of the well-known Frankenstein Clause, which allotted part of the customs receipts to the Small States. One would have supposed that he, a staunch Unitarian, would be antagonistic to this proposal, and in his innermost heart he really was; but, owing to Bismarck's declaration that finance reform was urgent, and that the consent of the centre was unobtainable by any other means, he voted for the Government. The consequences apprehended by him, as the result of the attitude of his friends, fully materialized. They consisted in Bismarck's rupture with the National Liberals, the resignation of ministers—Hobrecht, Falck, and Friedenthal—the reconciliation of Bismarck *with the* Roman Curia, and the passage of the

customs reform with a Conservative clerical majority, which to the present day prevails in the Reichstag. All this Bismarck sacrificed for the benefit of a highly contestable finance reform. Treitschke attributed the responsibility for it to the Reichstag, and in 1883 he wrote: "Of all the institutions of our young Empire, none has stood the test as badly as the Reichstag." He was sick of Parliament, and characterized the headache and feeling of tiredness with which he usually returned from sittings as "parliamentary seediness." His participation in debates slackened, and after 1888 he refrained from seeking re-election, an additional reason being the lines taken by Government, and legislation which he could not follow without coming too much into conflict with his old ideas.

Neither did he harmonize with public opinion in regard to external politics. He had no faith in the durability of the French Republic, but believed in the return of Bonapartism. At the death of Napoleon III, on January 9, 1873, consequent upon an operation for stone, he remarked: "Right to the last this man has remained unæsthetic." I thought the game between Chambord and the Orleans would now be continued, but he pooh-poohed the idea, and adhered to his belief that the Bonapartists alone are the people destined to reign over that nation. With feelings of bitterness he watched the great number of Germans who, in spite of experiences in the past, returned to France to *again take up positions*, and even obtain their

naturalization. He considered this a lack of sen of honour which he could not understand. T Pole who on all battlefields fought against Russ was to his mind more respectable, in spite of h vodka smell.

VI.

From 1871 to 1874 the Reichstag was by no means the only arena in which the warrior, prepared at all times, practised his strength, and his academic opponents occasionally reproached him with dragging the bad tone of the Reichstag into the University debates. As a matter of fact, in those days there was little difference, thanks to the urbanity of Richter and Liebnecht. Peculiarly enough, the chief interest of Academicians since March, 1871—during the time, therefore, when the most important questions agitated the German Fatherland—hinged upon a quarrel which must be styled almost childish. Knies and Schenkel were at daggers drawn, because the former, as Pro-Rector, occupied the chair in the Economic Commission conducted by Schenkel. The University statutes clearly conceded this right to the Pro-Rector, but Schenkel declared that Knies, in that case, might also undertake the agenda of the Commission. The reason for Treitschke's passionate participation in this question was partly aversion for Schenkel, and partly gratitude for *Knies, who, in* Freiburg, as well as in Heidelberg,

had urged his appointment. Besides, he highly appreciated Knies as a scientist, and managed to intersperse his Reichstag speeches with exhaustive extracts from Knies's latest book, *Money*. In the terms of the statute Knies was absolutely in his right. When the quarrel came to no end, Jolly suspended the Commission and entrusted the Senate with its duties, but the Senate protested. As negotiations assumed a very unparliamentary character, the philologist Köchly declared it beneath his dignity to participate further in the meetings. A motion was now brought in compelling every "Ordinarius" to take part in the meetings, and in this way the stupid discussion continued. The principal seat of terror was the Philosophic Faculty, and by his drastic speeches Treitschke more than once drove the Dean to despair. "He is a firebrand," said Ribbeck. "I am always trembling when he asks to speak." It was, of course, picturesque when the tall, handsome man with thundering voice shouted at the tiny, bespectacled gentlemen in the Senate, "Whoever is of a different opinion will have me to deal with." But as he had no conception as to how loudly he spoke, even when intending to whisper a confidential information into his neighbour's ear, he often placed his friends in a most awkward position. One of his confidential cannon-shots particularly caused lasting damage. When the natural history scientists, on a certain occasion, interfered, *he shouted* to his neighbour, meaning

of course to whisper, "What has this to do with these chemists and dung-drivers?"—and the fat was naturally in the fire. Nobody was more annoyed at these sallies than his own party, and, after a similar occurrence, Knies, taking advantage of his deafness, called after him, "Good-night, old baby!" He, however, gaily departed, totally unaware of the feelings which he had aroused even amongst his friends. It was impossible to exercise a restraining influence over him. With his temperament, he could not understand why he should say something different from what he thought. A friend who, in his opinion, although right, was unjustly ill-treated and ill-used, would be helped out by him, whatever the cost.

When, however, in an article in the Prussian *Annuals*, he declared that Court Theatres and University Senates would remain for ever the classic field for jealous intrigues and childish quarrels, the contest reverberated in the Chambers and the Press. The so-called majority broke off all relations with him, and, in consequence, we became more intimate than ever. "The outlaws" was the name he preferably applied to us, and the round table at König's Weinbeer, in Leipzig, was christened by him as "The Conspirators." In reply to my remark that we cared by no means to be considered outlaws, he said: "I have my students." Anyhow, the close relations thus established among a number of influential colleagues was also a gain. We met every evening,

one hour after his lectures, at the Museum, where we drank cheap beer. "It merely costs a little effort," he said. The circle consisted of historian Weber, the three theologians, Gass, Holtzmann, and myself; further, the botanist, Hofmeister, with whom Treitschke was on friendly terms while in Leipzig; Herrmann, the teacher of Canon Law, where Treitschke was received when still a student in Göttingen, and who, for his benefit, had learned the deaf-and-dumb language; and Knies, who, after occupying the position of Director of the High School Board and University Inspector, was degraded to that of Professor at Heidelberg, so that Hitzig greeted him with the following toast: "Behold Adam, who now has become one of us!" The spokesmen were Knies and Bluntschli, who both defended their one political point of view, Treitschke keeping as much as possible apart from the latter. His opinion of Bluntschli, as now confirmed in print through his letters to Freytag, was unjust. Bluntschli's intentions were for the common weal, but in his opinion it could best be done through him. The *Otez vous que je mif mette* (real Swiss-German) applied to him in his Faculty as well as in the Chamber. In vain I tried to prove to Treitschke that Bluntschli's propensity to mediation proposals, and his desire to vote always with the majority, were founded on his peaceable disposition and his benevolent concern for the public good. When, however, on a certain occasion, prior to leaving for Edingen by rail, I spoke

to him in this strain, he raved to such an extent that the attention of the people in the waiting-room was aroused, and I preferred to discontinue the argument. On such occasions, the misfortune of his deafness became very marked, for how was it possible to make complicated circumstances clear to him by lip-movements and scribbling on block slips? For good reasons he disliked letters by post. Although he belonged at that time, academically, to the Bluntschli party, he attacked, in his essay of 1871, on *Parties and Factions*, the Bluntschli–Rohmer State Law, establishing a parallel between the State functions and the human organism. "State science demands thought, not comparisons," he wrote. "What is the use of speaking figuratively, which is just as arbitrary as the old bad habit so favoured by natural philosophers of comparing the State with the human body? Argument ceases with such fantastic parables. Analogies are easily found, and with beautiful words one might describe the King as the head or the heart, or also as the index, of a State." This was not polite language, and must have annoyed Bluntschli, all the more as Treitschke, in the language of Goethe, "only tugged at the discarded serpent's skin," Bluntschli himself having left that part of the Rohmer philosophy behind him; and that is why, as far as I know, he never replied to the attack. Treitschke also reproached Bluntschli with attempting to count *Luther amongst* the Liberals: "He, whose emi-

nent mind admirably combines the traits of the revolutionary stormer of heaven with those of the devout monk, he who was anything but a Liberal! Or will our opponents think more of us if we are so bold as to declare that the true spirit of Christianity is liberal? The greatness of Christian faith lies in its inconceivable and manifold plasticity; after thousands of years it will, in eternally new, yet ever identical, forms, elevate humanity when not even scientists will have anything to say of Liberalism." Although sitting at the same round table there was, speaking philosophically, a century between Bluntschli and Treitschke. Treitschke was a true representative of the historical school, and not Dahlmann; but Ranke was his real master. Bluntschli liked to refer to Savigny; but, in reality, his views of the world, in spite of Rohmer's symbolism, were culled from the age of enlightenment.

When, in 1873, Wehrenpfennig remodelled the *Spenersche Zeitung* into the semi-official *Preussische Zeitung*, Treitschke was offered the salary of ten thousand thalers for undertaking the editorship of the journal. This salary was unheard of at that time. Some friends of his advised him to accept, saying that his deafness would, in years to come, impair his functions as teacher, but he told me: "I am not a journalist; I like to see things developed so that I can form an opinion. To write a leading article on the latest telegram, on the spur of the moment, and to have to contradict it eight days

later, I leave to other people." Wehrenpfennig tried to make the proposal more acceptable by informing him that the minister would appoint him as professor at a fixed salary, consequently there would be no need to sacrifice his function as teacher, whilst others would look after the ordinary journalistic work; only the handling of political matters and the daily leading article would be his department. A big salary as professor, and a big income as editor, would have tempted a good many; there even were people who declared that it was Treitschke's duty, impecunious as he was, to provide thus for his family; but he maintained that it was contrary to his honour to change his profession for monetary gain, and we were, naturally, glad that he remained in our midst.

In spite of his refusal to take part in journalism he played a prominent part in contemporary politics, and the journals repaid him with interest for his bold observations in the Prussian *Annuals*. Ludwig Ekkard, an Austrian, resident since 1866 at Mannheim, and editor there of a weekly publication—a man of whom the Karlsruhe people whispered he had, in 1848, in Vienna, hung Latour, the Minister of War—wrote a leading article on "Treitschke von Cassagnac." After he had fallen out with the Jews, a Berlin paper reported that Treitschke was the descendant of a certain Isaac Treitschel, who, at the beginning of the century, had come as a youth from Bohemia to *Saxony selling* trousers. A social democratic

journal thought Herr von Treitschke was a living proof of the injustice of present-day Society institutions, as he was only appointed professor because his father had been a general. "If we lived in a State which practises justice, such a weak-headed creature would never have been allowed to be a student." Similar flattering expressions were showered upon him by the Ultramontane journals, which, on account of his monomania, would have liked to have him bundled off to a lunatic asylum. When shown such a masterpiece, he laughed heartily saying: "One has to put up with that sort of thing when one is in the public eye." He was only angered at the small-mindedness of some of his colleagues, who threw stones at him behind his back merely because he had stolen a march on them.

It is notorious that Treitschke, after lacking sympathy with Badenese Liberalism, became its supporter whilst in Heidelberg; but in Berlin he again reverted to feelings of contempt for it.

During the years 1867 to 1874, which he spent amongst us, I could not discern an appreciable difference in his views. As his parliamentary speeches and essays in the *Annuals* amply testify, he greeted with joy Bismarck's first steps towards the re-establishment of the Authority of the State *versus* the Catholic Church; the abolition of the Catholic department in the Ministry of Public Instruction; the penal code against abuse of the *pulpit, and Bismarck's* refusal to give way to the

new-founded centre. We also thoroughly agreed in regard to the Mühler administration of ecclesiastical affairs. He wrote: "The Universities in Prussia are going backwards, since fashionable orthodoxy, with its mistrust, is supreme at Court against liberty of thought. Here, if anywhere, our State is in need of a radical reform, *i. e.*, the conversion of the conversion of science." In the last essay written in Heidelberg he said: "Since the unhappy days of Friederick Wilhelm IV the school system in Prussia has been fundamentally miscultivated by a spirit of confessional narrow-mindedness which exasperates the most patient." Consequently nothing astonished us more than the attitude which he adopted subsequently in Berlin, towards Stöcker and his town mission, even going so far as to lament Stöcker's dismissal from his position as preacher at the Royal Chapel. Those who contend that the misunderstanding had been on our side, are invited to read Treitschke's publications up to the last week of his stay at Heidelberg. The views with which he came to us, and which he defended in Heidelberg in the circle of friends as well as in the chair, find expression in the beautiful essay on *Liberty*, the opening sentence of which runs as follows: "Everything new created by the nineteenth century is the work of liberalism. Particularly in the clerical sphere, this is destined to continue its labours in order to create at last true conditions. Does it redound to the honour of *the land of Lessing*," he asks, "that there is no

German University which possesses sufficient courage to admit a David Strauss to its halls? Those who have any conception of the enormous extent to which faith in the dogmas of Christian revelations has disappeared among the younger generation, must observe with great anxiety how thoughtlessly, how lazily, nay, how lyingly, thousands do homage to a lip service which has become strange to their heart. The lack of veracity in the field of religion grows in an alarming fashion. The philosophers of the eighteenth century thought that real virtue does not exist without belief in God and immortality. The present generation contests this, and declares point-blank, 'Morality is independent of dogma.'" He recognizes the immortality in the never-ending effect of our good as well as of our bad deeds. "For weak or low characters, the belief in an after life can equally be a source of immortality, like the denial of same, for in their anxiety for the hereafter they often neglect their duties on earth. The Church has taken no interest whatever in the great work of the last centuries, and in the deliverance of humanity from one thousand terrors of unchristian arbitrariness. The defenders of the Church claim the prerogative to spoil even the best measure by the incomparable meanness of their methods. And, according to human estimate, this symptom will continue. More and more the moral value of Christianity will be investigated *and developed by laymen*, and more and more it

will become apparent that churches do not suffice for the spiritual demands of matured people." That this last sentence coincides with the speculations of Richard Rothe, the æsthetic scientist, and the teaching of the Tübingen School is apparent from a letter to his Catholic *fiancée*, written in 1866, in which he says, "Christianity loses nothing of its greatness if the stupid priest tales of Paganism are dropped."

"The New Testament embodies more ideas of Plato than our clergy is ready to admit." Under these circumstances we could count him merely from a theological point of view amongst the Liberals, and only in the attitude adopted by Treitschke towards the contested reforms of Evangelical and Catholic Church matters we regained our own convictions. He likewise greeted Mühler's fall in February, 1872, with joy, although he disapproved of the American Press tactics, now gaining more and more the upper hand in the German Press, which heaped with opprobrium the fallen opponent—"he hardly deserved the title of lion." Treitschke likewise demanded the abolition of the Stiehl regulations, as they acted as a deterrent to many an intelligent person embracing the career of teacher. Where Herr von Mühler had ordered that certain colleges should assume a strictly evangelical character, he urged Falk to appoint Catholic or Jewish teachers for those schools, in order to put an end to the *fictitious story* that Prussia possessed colleges for

specific confessions. During his last term at Heidelberg he, in a short and decisive fashion, on December 10, 1873, still approved of the Falk legislation enacted in May, respecting the restrictions of the Catholic Church. "Not a word is to be found in these laws which is not beneficial to the Church." He declares it the most unpardonable error of the Conservative party in Prussia to have entered into an alliance with the Ultramontanes. The suppression of the Jesuit Order, which he formerly opposed, now had his approval. The struggle for civilization was likewise, for him, a struggle of liberty against fanaticism, and he was convinced that a firm attitude maintained by the State would lead to victory.

"For two years the Ultramontanes have wasted their powder; they have so often conjured up the names of Nero and Diocletianus that one fails to see what can still be done after this fanatical clamour, beyond a street battle, and this they cannot risk." Treitschke's practical demands were likewise those of the Liberals. "A law for compulsory civil marriage has become a necessity; after years of deliberation, it must at last be evident that facultative civil marriage is based on a misconception, and does not mitigate, but rather accentuates, the conflict between State and Church. Furthermore, a special law will have to be enacted by the State enabling the communities themselves to look after the Church Funds, should no legally recognized parson be available; the State will have

to concede to Old Catholics the right to reclaim their share of the Church property when quitting the church. After all that has happened, there is no need to shun the reproach of animosity; we require a law empowering the arrest of persistently refractory priests. It will not do to leave religious orders in their present condition, so uncertain from a legal point of view, and to allow processions and pilgrimages to be exposed to molestation and insult on the part of citizens of different creeds. The May laws are only the beginning of an energetic Church policy." The Baden Liberalism has never transgressed these demands, and it may safely be said that Treitschke, while in Heidelberg, shared in this respect fully the views of his Liberal friends.

Slowly the change came about while living in Berlin. Owing to his affliction, social intercourse was restricted to a few people, and amongst those it was the new President of the Supreme Ecclesiastic Council, Herrmann by name, with whom he formed a close friendship—Herrmann having been able, better than anybody, to make himself understood by deaf-and-dumb language, and also corresponding with Treitschke. In Heidelberg, before, Herrmann had raised all sorts of objections to the Falk Laws, and heated discussions took place between him and the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs on the endowment of evangelical clergymen, the abolition of incidental fees, and similar questions. His opinions on the Falk Church Laws were

now so unfavourable that we often had the impression that he considered himself destined to replace Falk. In unctuous fashion he invariably reverted to the statement that as long as the population fail to realize that ecclesiastical decrees speak the language of profound respect for religion, every reform will prove abortive on account of the people's want of confidence. The aristocratic and military circles, with whom Treitschke now associated more frequently, too, had only one watchword: The struggle for civilization must cease. He expected nothing of the Old Catholic agitation, and disapproved of the loud applause of the Jewish Press, which would have better served the cause by greater reticence. It so came about that we had gradually to rely less upon his co-operation in the struggle. But we gathered this opinion more from his verbal scruples than from his written expressions, which in principle were in agreement with ours, although he now considered the legislation as laws of necessity, *i. e.*, as a temporary evil. Then took place the great defection of Lasker and the Progressive Party, which the Catholic faction attempted to engineer for the elections, and which willingly left the odium of civilization—a name invented by Virchow for the glory of Falk—to the National Liberals. After one wing of the Army had gone over to the enemy, the great Bismarck retreat commenced, which Treitschke had to cover with heavy artillery. Even in course of these *rear-guard actions*, he had both written and

spoken many clever things in the *Annuals*, as well as in the Reichstag, but it oppressed his mind that henceforth he would have to recommend the abolition of the "ineffective or mistaken May Laws," after having greeted their formation with words of joy. To retract words, suited him, who was used to employing such strong language particularly badly. Times out of number he had proclaimed that the old feud could not be adjusted by concessions, but by perseverance. If, in a country whose population to the extent of two-thirds are Protestants, the Bishops reign to-day, and an Ultramontane President is President of the Reichstag, the old saying characterizing this state of affairs, viz., "Every nation has the government it deserves," is decidedly appropriate. For the rest, it must be recognized that Treitschke never expressed his pleasure at this result as did the *Kreuz Zeitung*, but always contemplated it with deep regret as a proof that, contrary to the opinion of Aristotle, the German being is by no means a political animal.

While still in Heidelberg, Treitschke's rupture with the University Socialists became imminent, among whom he counted his intimate friends Knies and Schmoller. Contrary to Knies, he asserted that Socialism could not be convinced by reason, but had to be suppressed by forcible laws. He also defended the view that it is in the interest of the public to compel labour to work cheaply, and that the State should possess authority to

enforce the fulfilment of this duty. In his first Berlin article, of July, 1874, he took this sharp attitude against the Social Democrats, whom he called Socialists, and whom he did not wish to distinguish from the Radical Socialist politicians. The article had been begun in Heidelberg, and we were diverted to see how here again he gave expression to his most recent experience, when he wrote: "After packing books for two or three days, and filling up freight forms—finally looking stupidly at the completed work—the question will suddenly occur what the brave packers might think, who, during these removal performances only, were my servants? The calling of the furniture shifter is, after all, a very respectable one, because it is cleaner, and more refined, than many equally necessary occupations." The essay itself, *Socialism, and its Supporters*, met at the round table of the Museum with no more approval than the speeches which were its prelude prior to his departure. Knies thought that the inability to distribute wealth in accordance with actual deeds —it not being a creation of the present—and the fact that virtue is not fully rewarded in this world, would not produce a greater feeling of contentment amongst the working classes, who demand their share of the realized profit, and in the terms of their favourite author, Heine, leave Heaven to the angels and sparrows.

Colleagues otherwise friendly disposed towards him *found the point* of view that the working

ity of the human lot, he nevertheless in a letter to Sybel expressed the hope: "We also will get our ten hours' bill, our factory inspectors, and many other things, which are in opposition to the Manchester doctrine," and in this sense the warm-hearted friend of the people acted in the Reichstag. Equal rights for all, and due care for the economically weaker and those incapable of working, was his motto; the contest between him and Schmoller was, therefore, by no means as great as the strong words exchanged at that time might have led one to believe. Like so many big cannonades, this one finally proved merely to be noisy reconnoitring and not a decisive battle. Anyhow, the discussions on social questions between him and Knies were the most interesting experienced by the round table, and we regretted that they were the last.

VII.

Immediately after the war the Prussian House of Commons had granted considerable sums to raise the University of Berlin to its destined height again, and Helmholtz was the first to receive such an offer in 1871, Zeller following in 1872, and Treitschke in 1874. No efforts were spared on the part of the Baden Government to retain Treitschke. His friends entreated him to remain. If only he had listened to our supplications the *German History would have* been completed long ago, he himself

would presumably still be in the land of the living, and all the hardships which the trying city atmosphere caused him and his family would never have found their way to the small house hidden behind trees at the other side of the Neckar. We urged him not to abandon so light-heartedly a sphere of activity such as he had found.

On a slip, I wrote to him that in Berlin nobody believed Prussia to be such a great country as he preached. "I would not say such a thing," he replied, in angry fashion, but then he explained that, owing to his having to spend six months in the Berlin Archives for writing his *History* it was preferable that he should permanently remain in Berlin. But just because empty-headed Liberalism was gradually gaining ground in Berlin, he wished to go there to take up the battle. He also wrote to Jolly in this sense: "Our capital is not to become a second New York; those who can do something to prevent this misfortune must not abstain without good reason. Anyone as firmly attached to Prussia as I am must not refuse, without good cause, if my services are thought to be of use." In similar fashion he expressed himself to Ranke, who, by sending Treitschke his *Genesis of the Prussian State*, at once greeted him as his colleague—a matter for great pride. He wrote to the old master as follows: "Here in Heidelberg my object was simply to teach youth, on the whole ignorant but naïve; over there my task will be to uphold *the positive* powers of the historical world

against the petulance of Radical criticism. I fully realise the difficult position in which I shall find myself in consequence of the predominant Radical opinions in the capital. He admitted that he could not expect to exercise such lasting influence upon the students in Berlin as in Heidelberg, for theatres, concerts, and life in the capital generally prejudiced the interest in lectures; but he thought he would surmount the difficulty in Berlin, as well as he had done in Leipzig. Only one question oppressed him, soft-hearted as he was: "Children are deprived of the best part of their youth when they are dragged to a capital to be brought up there as Berlin Wall-Rats." "It is true," he subsequently wrote to Freytag, "my son prefers the Zoölogical Garden to the Black Forest; a forest is all very fine and large, but the Emperor and the old 'Wrangel' are only to be seen in Berlin." At first, negotiations were carried on regarding limiting his activity, and that of Droysen, he, as he told me, not wishing "to raise shabby competition" with the old gentleman. By the death of Droysen this question settled itself. I felt Treitschke's impending departure very much, and when the matter had become an accomplished fact the following verses occurred to me during a sleepless night:

"Du gehst wir Konnten Dich nicht halten
Du gehst weil Du gehen musst
Wir lassen Deine Sterne walten
Und bieten Schweigen unserer Brust."

The other part I have forgotten, and perhaps it is better so. Not wishing to be counted amongst the poets of the *Tageblatt*, I merely signed the poem "N. N.," but at our final meeting at the Museum he looked at me frankly, and amiably said: "I go, because go I must," and then I knew that my anonymity had been unavailing. In spite of the academic encounters in the past the colleagues assembled in great, although by no means full, numbers. All the same, everybody recognized his honesty and unselfishness, just because he had been open and very rough. Windscheid, as Pro-Rector, also referred to the fact that Treitschke liked to be where sharp thrusts were exchanged, and likened him to a noble steed on the battle-ground, which cannot be kept back when it hears the flourish of trumpets. No doubt we would hear in future of his deeds. The great student of law was much too refined and clever a personality to undervalue Treitschke as the "majority" did, but for the mature and calm scientist the young colleague was still like new wine, and jokingly he compared him to Percy Heissporn, who regularly was asked by his wife, when washing the ink from off his fingers before dinner: "Well, Heinrich, darling, and how many have you killed to-day?" At our last meeting Treitschke told me in his usual kind-hearted manner that there were too many important men in this small town, and collisions were therefore unavoidable. In Weimar the same *conditions* existed as is proved by the

letters of Karoline Herder, and Karoline Schlegel. When he gaily described in the *German History* subsequently the battles of Voss, with Creuzer on the hot field of Heidelberg, we gratefully recognized that the memory of the Economic Commission, and Majority and Minority, still continued to cling faithfully to his heart. There might have been at that time too many academic stars, but he was never too much for us, and we felt that the importance of such men was fully recognized only by the void they left. It was as if a spell had been broken, the parlour seemed empty, the round table at the Museum only half occupied, and as Gustav Freytag said at his parting speech in the Kitzing, so we could say: "A good deal of poetry has disappeared from our circle, which had warmed and elated us." Our circle undeservedly now resembled the defiant prince of olden times, who was deserted by his generals one by one. The one who now goes from us is Max Piccolomini. Fortunately, although missed, he was not completely lost to us. He annually accompanied his family to the house of his parents-in-law in Freiburg, and we generally had him in the autumn for days or hours with us either at the usual round table or at our house. Subsequently we saw him more frequently, as, on account of his eyes, which were being treated by the Heidelberg ophthalmologist, Dr. Leber, he came to us also in the spring, and was easily to be found close to my *house at the* "Prinz Karl" or the "Weinberg,"

and was grateful when people made him forget his sorrows for an hour or so. We therefore continued to keep in touch with him. Merely to read his writings was insufficient; one had to hear him to understand his meaning thoroughly. When in the autumn of 1874 he turned up for the first time, he was full of praise for the systematic and quick way with which University matters were settled in Berlin. As it was not customary to visit the wives of colleagues in Berlin, the education of such fortified Society camps, as used to be the case in Heidelberg, was conspicuous by its absence. With his former Heidelberg opponents, Zeller and Wattenbach, he was on best terms there; besides it was, as he said, very healthy to be reminded daily in this town of millions that the few people whose company one cultivated did not constitute the world. Every one of them might fall from a bridge across the River Spree, and onwards would rush the stream of life as if nothing had happened. When daily hurrying past thousands of people to one's occupation, one only begins to realize the true proportion of one's dispensability. Somewhat less politely he had expressed similar views in an essay on Socialism, in which, willy-nilly, we had to apply to ourselves the remark that a strong man always felt steeled and elated when fleeing from the restraint, tittle-tattle, and the persistent interference of a small town. He also wrote to Freytag: "The liberty in the capital *pleases me, and I* should not care about returning

to Heidelberg's quarrels and gossip." Anyhow, he spoke of us as "of his beautiful Heidelberg," whereas Leipzig remained for him "the empty-headed University," meaning thereby, of course, not the professors, but the disparity between the great University and the small country. Thus he had grown a proud Berlin citizen; but later on he felt how life in a big city affected his nerves. He complained of the "everlasting haste which was called life in Berlin," and which, above all, undermined his wife's health. Even the correspondence with Freytag stopped, as Berlin made it impossible to maintain relations as he wished and as they should have been maintained. This complaint is intelligible, as lectures, parliamentary sittings, and the editorship of the Prussian *Annuals* completely occupied his time. Now and then the Berlin papers, and especially the *Tageblatt*, brought out "details respecting the lectures of Herr v. Treitschke," which proved a totally new experience to him and to us. Treitschke finally saw himself compelled to declare that this information by no means originated in student circles. As the big banking firms closed at 6 p.m. he had the doubtful pleasure of seeing at his evening lectures all sorts of young business men, of Christian and Hebraic confession, who, in their spare time, apparently, were newspaper reporters. He declared he was responsible to the hearers and to the authorities for his lectures; he would continue to maintain strict silence in regard to the attempts

of the press to worm information out of him: this does not imply that he recognized the correctness of the published information. But details showing him in a favourable light likewise made their appearance, and, particularly after his death, many of his former hearers gave invaluable information in regard to Treitschke's lectures. Felix Krüger, for instance, informed the *Allgemeine Zeitung* how greatly Treitschke laid stress on the point that men make history in opposition to Lamprecht's view, who held that the history of a nation is not the history of great men, but that circumstances are developed by circumstances. According to Krüger, the principal thing in the reformation was, for Treitschke, the peculiarity of the reformers: Ulrich von Hutten, the people's favourite Junker, whose Muse was Wrath, or the Rationalist Republican Zwingli, or the aristocratically-inclined Calvin with his hard and cheerless fanaticism; and on the other hand Emperor Charles, the reserved Spaniard of indomitable ambition, pitiless, and in his innermost heart irreligious; next to him his pedantic brother, Ferdinand or Maurice of Saxony, this quick Mussen cat, yet the only one amongst the German Princes of that time who had political talent. Naturally these vividly drawn sketches made an impression upon youth. When causing thereby an amusing effect which gave rise to loud and lasting hilarity in true student's fashion, the dark eye of the speaker would unwillingly glance over the audience

an intimation that he was in deadly earnest even when dealing out satirical lashes. In his lectures on politics he also surprised the hearers with views which none of them had heard from him at the College. He pointed out that not logical facts make history, but passions; feelings are more powerful than reason. He safeguarded the right of the development of personalities. "Only a shallow mind can always say the same." He sneered at the moralizing contemplation of history, "the Sunday afternoon preachers on Politics." Life is too hard for philanthropic phrases, but those are not genuine realists who misjudge the reality of moral forces. All his hearers realized that these lectures acted like iron baths. We owe to another hearer the description of the impression which the first attempt on the life of the Kaiser made upon Treitschke. It confirms what was generally known, that Treitschke never posed, and on the contrary hated everything theatrical. The information of the deed of miserable Hödel had come to hand immediately before the commencement of Treitschke's lecture. The audience was silent as in a church; depressed, they gazed in front of them as if a load oppressed their souls. At last Treitschke entered, but the usual cheering which greeted his arrival was absent to-day. A long time he stood there; motionless he looked at us as if he meant to say: "I realize you feel the mortification, the disgrace, the horrible disgrace, *inflicted upon* us." Then he tried to speak; we

noticed how agitated and disturbed he was. But the impressions seemed to burst forth so vehemently that he bit his lips, and deeply sighed as if trying to suppress his feelings. Then he hastily grasped his handkerchief, and overwhelmed by emotion he pressed it to his eyes. I believe there was not a single one amongst the hearers whose heart was not thrilled to its innermost depth at this silent process. Subsequently he found words, and said he was unable to discuss the wicked deed; it choked him to do so, and he would continue the history of the Wars of Liberation. Once more he reviewed the previous history, and said that there is nothing to purify and strengthen the souls of young, idealistically inclined human beings than the fire test of deep patriotic sorrow. He spoke of the Battle of Leipzig, and described the tremendous fight with such vividness, richness of colour, and fire that everybody, carried away, hung on his lips. And when in his enthusiastic manner he described the episode of how the East Prussian Militia, at the head of all others, stormed the Grimma Gate at Leipzig and drove the French from the old German town, all anguish had suddenly departed. A feeling of relief and exaltation again seized all our hearts, and the audience gave vent to a loud ovation for the man who, in spite of his last bitter disappointment, did not tire of keeping alive in us enthusiasm for our people and our history. The Berlin papers occupied themselves *so extensively* with Treitschke that we,

likewise, in Heidelberg were always informed regarding his activity. Especially so long as he frequently spoke in the Reichstag, and regularly discussed pending questions in the Prussian *Annuals*, our mental intercourse did not slacken. But by reason of the distance we sometimes viewed his standpoint wrongly. Judging by his writings in the *Annuals*, I thought he would be very pleased with our African acquisitions, but when verbally discussing it with him he said: "Cameroons? What are we to do with this sand-box? Let us take Holland; then we shall have colonies." Fortunately he failed to promulgate this view in the Press.

Amongst the most unpleasant duties which the editorship of the *Annuals* entailed, perhaps the most disagreeable one was to review those questions of the day on which to maintain silence would have been much more agreeable. Above all, it was the Jewish question which had become of such pressing nature that, however painful, in view of the esteem he entertained for his colleagues, Goldschmidt, Bresslau, and Frenzdorf, and the recollections of his early friend, Oppenheim, he was obliged to touch on it. Considering the enormous agitation organized against him after publication of his first article in November, 1879, and which only poured fat into the fire, it must be remembered that he deliberately placed the following sentence in front: "There can be, among sensible *people, no* question of a withdrawal, or even of only

an infringement, of the completed emancipation of the Jews; this would be an apparent injustice." His final appeal to the Jews not to relinquish their religion, but their ambition to occupy a particular national position, and to become unreservedly Germans, might be called futile and vague; but it does not imply a mortification. The complaints which Treitschke brought before the general notice might have been discussed more calmly if the Press had not raised such an outcry against him. Even those who consider that Treitschke's attitude in this matter did more harm than good had to admit extenuating circumstances quite apart from the fact that, after the many frictions with the Jewish reporters, a final electric discharge had become inevitable in view of his temperament. His publicist activity brought him less in contact with the good qualities of the Israelites than with the Jews of the Press, amongst whom those of Berlin are not exactly the most modest, and who, with their system of Press activity, were in direct opposition to his ideals of life. He observed, what could escape no attentive reader of our Press, that all literary publications were praised or torn to pieces according to whether the author was reputed to be Philo-Semite or Anti-Semite. "And," he says, "how closely this crowd of writers keeps together, how reliably works this Immortality Assurance Society, based on the approved commercial principle of reciprocity, so that each Jewish poetical star receives on the spot, and without

rebate of interest for delay, the ephemeral praise administered by the newspapers." In the presence of the objectionable agitation of these years, George Eliot, in her last novel, *Daniel Deronda*, reproached Germany with Jewish persecution, as it was Jewish brains which for the last thirty years had procured for Germany her position in the literary world. Treitschke, however, reproached the Jewish Press for having tried to introduce "the charlatanry of the commercial world into literature and the jargon of the stock exchange into the sanctuary of our language." He put the question: What had the Jewish brain made of the German language in the sphere of journalism and literature, in which it reigns supreme? Of the poets, who at the time contributed to Germany's literary position and whose names live, George Eliot suitably recollected Gutzkow, Freiligrath, Freytag, Geibel, Mönke, Bodenstedt, Claus Groot, Fritz Reuter, Storm, Fontane, Roguette, Scheffel, Baumbach, Rosegger, Anzengruber, Ganghoffer, Jenssen, Lingg, Raabe, Putlitz, Strachwitz, Steiler, Wolff, and many others. There is not one Jewish brain among them, and most of the names which the Jewish Press noisily proclaimed upon their appearance are to-day submerged in the flood of journalism and completely forgotten. Another consideration of Treitschke referred to the development of our school system under the completely changed denominational conditions of colleges. Nothing had given him so much food for reflection as the

sentence of his first essay: "From the East frontier there pours year by year from the inexhaustible Polish cradle a huge number of ambitious trouser-selling youths, whose children and children's children, in time to come, will dominate Germany's stock exchanges and newspapers; the immigration grows visibly, and more and more seriously the question imposes itself how we are to amalgamate this strange population with ours. 'What a crime,' a Jewess said to me, 'that these Jews give their children a good education.'" The exaggerations of Treitschke also, in this matter, are to be regretted; but the difficulty still remains that, as the moiety of pupils in the higher classes of colleges in Berlin were of Jewish persuasion, the Christian view of the world must disappear. Furthermore, the fact must not be lost sight of that the newspaper reader, in view of Jewish hegemony in the journalistic world, is apprised of the events of the world only in the form in which they show to advantage from the Jewish point of view. We had ample means to convince ourselves of this on the occasion of colonial policy, financial reform, and the discussions on the tobacco monopoly. He also spoke bitingly in regard to the influence of a commercial world which amasses colossal fortunes, not by productive labour, but by the exchange of securities and speculative transactions; and here, at least, the movement initiated by him has been productive of good results, as it caused legislation to be enacted. I, personally, was by

no means pleased at his having become involved in controversy with such an influential literary power, and I told him candidly that for me the question does not exist whether it is an advantage our having the Jews—Mommsen and Stöcker might settle that. The question to be solved, as far as I was concerned, is: What is our duty since we have them? He himself, had no wish to adopt the practical method employed by Russia; what, therefore, was to be done? He was amused at the opinion of one of his acquaintances, saying the Middle Ages had missed their vocation as, according to the principles of that period, the question might have been settled without subsequent conscience-pricks. According to him, his teacher, Dahlmann, at the College, likewise had regretted that the policy of that Egyptian Pharaoh had not been pursued more effectively. But when seriously asked his opinion what to do, he was just as helpless as other people. His only prescription was gentle restraint, and there even he admitted that in the present state of affairs this had become impracticable, as even he himself made exceptions in favour of his friends. But, as he had no prescription for the solution of this eminently practical question, not even a tangible proposal, it was ostensibly an error for a practical politician to make an enemy for all times of this great power in Berlin. He lost in life valuable and even Christian fellow-workers for his own object, and by the *sneering tone* of his articles he particularly puzzled

the ladies' world. The public declaration of Mommsen's friends, reproaching him with having sacrificed tolerance, the great heritage of Lessing, and inciting youth against the Jews, caused him deep and lasting pain. The latter reproach was due to untrue statements having been disseminated by Christian-Germanic youths.

A Leipzig student called on him to seek his advice as to whether he and his friends should sign the Förster anti-Semitic petition. Treitschke declared he disagreed with the contents of this petition, and also considered it wrong for students to be mixed up in legislative questions. If they were determined to make a manifesto they should do so in a more suitable form and remember to leave undisturbed the academic peace. "After this conversation," Treitschke himself relates, "I for weeks heard nothing of the matter, until suddenly, to my greatest astonishment, through a newspaper notice, I ascertained the existence of a Leipzig Students' Petition" (in which a sentence asserted Treitschke had given his assent to the intended action of anti-Semitic students). "I at once wrote to that student, reminded him of the real meaning of our conversation, and demanded the immediate expurgation of that passage. He replied very repentantly, asked my pardon, assured me that he had been greatly excited during the conversation, and consequently had quite misunderstood me; he also promised to have that passage *eliminated*, which actually was done.

The mendacious reference to Treitschke, however, caused so much discussion that Treitschke sent to a member of the Senate a written declaration for transmission to the Rector, and when Mommsen, in a pamphlet, repeated the reproach, calling Treitschke the moral instigator of the Leipzig Students' Petition against the Jews, Treitschke was obliged to give a public declaration to demonstrate the history of the incident. Thus the question had produced academic factions of still greater animosity than the previous ones, as in this case Jews were in question. In consequence of this conflict, Treitschke fell out with his nearest friends, and again he had the impression he was shunned and tabooed. Nevertheless, he recognized with great respect that Mommsen had abruptly turned a deaf ear to the attempts of several younger Jewish colleagues in their endeavour to take advantage of his philo-Semitic disposition for their own benefit. "There the great scientist came again to the fore." Mommsen, however, was not conciliatory. He reproached Treitschke with animosity against Jews, in consequence of which a true appreciation of Heine in his literary report was lacking. "Where genius faces us, we must kneel down and worship," he said, "and it is Treitschke's doom that he cannot do that." It was doubtful to me whether falling down and worshipping was exactly Mommsen's force. On the contrary, it seemed to me worthy *of note that* Treitschke, in spite of his personal

aversion, recognized in Heine the true voice of romance, contrary to Victor Hehn, who simply explained the ring of Goethe's lyrics in Heine's songs, by the talent of imitation akin to the Jew. In these questions, likewise, Treitschke's judgment, after the long and bitter struggle, was of lamentable mildness, which I was the last to expect after the sharp attacks in the *Annuals*. Although convinced he had merely done his duty, he was deeply hurt that the great number of friends now had shrunk to a few anti-Semites, whose adoration he had to share with Rector Ahlwardt. His was a love-thirsty disposition.

"Du nahst der Welt mit einer Welt voll Liebe
Dein Zauber ist das mutig freie Herz
War's moglich dass sie dir verschlossen bliebe?"

he had written in his youth when deafness broke in upon him. Similar feelings overcame him now with the estrangement of so many who gave his words the cold shoulder. The feeling against him did not last, but the consequences of this conflict went further than was visible at first. The articles on the Jews form a turning-point in Treitschke's political position, and in his occupation as publicist, and they were not even without influence upon his personal comfort.

When these consequences promptly arose, Erdmansdoerffer reminded me of a saying of Berthold Auerbach, who had predicted of another anti-

Semite: "Like all Hamans, he will have a bad end." As the result of the so-called Mommsen Declaration, bitter dissension arose, not only between Treitschke and the Jews, but also between the Liberals of both camps. All the more enthusiastically the Conservative party gathered round him, and soon enough we saw him in the ranks of the party which he had contested during the whole of his life. Formerly his opinion was: "Christian love is more frequently to be found amongst the much-abused Incredulous than amongst the Clergy. . . . More and more it will become apparent that churches do not suffice for the spiritual needs of mature people." Now his position demanded that he should view his struggle against Judaism simultaneously with a struggle for his Church. "Mommsen," he writes, "passes over the religious contrast with some indifferent words. I maintain a different standpoint towards positive Christianity. I believe that through maturing culture our deeply religious people will be led back to a purer and more vigorous spiritual life, and therefore cannot silently pass over the invectives of the Jewish Press against Christianity, but consider them as attacks on the fundaments of our morals, as disturbances of the peace of the country." The next consequence of this attitude was that, contrary to his former utterances on undenominational schools, he now declared denominational schools as normal, whereas, *as late as 1872*, he had appealed to the new Minis-

ter of Public Instruction to send Jewish teachers to those colleges which Herr von Mühler had declared as being denominational according to observance. Soon we were as much amazed at the literary manifestoes of our friend as the veterans of Napoleon, who, after the Concordat, wondered how the "Little Corporal" had learned to preach so beautifully. Trietschke's relations with the orthodox parsons date from this struggle and they soon found ways and means to bring it about that the "great patriot" appeared as speaker at the meetings arranged by them. It is well known what struggles Treitschke, in his youth, had with his father on account of his free-thinking ideals. Nor did he show at Heidelberg very great predilection for the clergy; nay, it required patience to endure his everlasting attacks upon the theologians. At the christening of his second daughter, he drank the health of Grandmama in charming fashion: "People always said a good deal about mothers-in-law, but he could only say the best of his." In consequence of my having been blessed at the same time with a son he had to propose another toast, which was well meant, but which ended with, "Do not let the boy become a parson." Embarrassed as I was, I could only reply that up till now my baby boy had shown no other talent than for preaching and the touching of feminine hearts. I must, therefore, reserve his calling for him. These "parsons"—he never used to call *the clergy* differently—were in his eyes a

very subordinate class of men, and being what he was, this disdain seemed more natural than the subsequent alliance. He used to display equal aversion to the Catholic and the Evangelic Church. To his Catholic wife he said, mockingly, "Thy parsons," and to me, "Your parsons," considering it at the same time a very lucky thing that Germany had not become completely Lutheran. "We should have turned out a nice lot if you alone had brought us up." After such antecedents it was a considerable matter for surprise to find him in Berlin sitting on the same bench with the parsons of the Municipal Mission. The struggle against the Jews characterizes the turning-point in his life, nay—it prepared the end of his publicist activity. The man who, from the very beginning, turned to advantage Treitschke's Conservative tendencies in Berlin was the President of the Evangelic Superior Church Council, his Göttingen master and Heidelberg colleague, Herrmann. He induced him to take side in the Prussian *Annuals* against the Berlin Liberal clergy, who had spoiled Herrmann's game by their attacks upon the apostolicity. As Treitschke continued calling himself a free-thinker, his suitability for defending apostolicity and reprimanding the Rationalist clergy was, to say the least, very doubtful. I took their part in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, but at the same time wrote to him that I was the author of the article against him, hoping he would not take it ill. His reply was: "Please do not write for a

paper in which only the scum of German professors deposit their spawn." But soon enough he himself had to be glad to be able to deposit his declarations there, as they were just as unsuitable for the Liberal Press as for the *Kreuz Zeitung*. At our next meeting he told me that since his struggle with the Jews he was considered much more reactionary. Minister von Puttkamer expressed great surprise when Treitschke, on being placed next to Stöcker, had asked for an introduction; in Berlin it was considered a matter of course that all anti-Semites should be on friendly, nay, brotherly, terms.

When asked by me what he thought of Stöcker, he replied evasively, "Well, quite a different school; something like the *Kreuz Zeitung*." Later on he shielded the Court Preacher against the Berlin Press. The witness affair could have happened to anybody. When holding on one and the same day two or three meetings it was impossible to recognize everybody with whom he had spoken, and if one were to search the editorial tables of Liberal newspapers, many reprehensible letters would be found. It happened to have been a carelessly written washing list. To suspect morally political opponents was contrary to his chivalrous nature. I had, on that day, a long and exhaustive conversation with him on the religious question; but I could not gain the impression that his relationship to religious questions had become *a different one from* what it used to be. He always

had been of a positive nature, and hated that one should impair the impression of something great by criticism. That is why he had no sympathies for Strauss. He praised the Bible for placing before us a number of the most magnificent wars and warriors, and in this way teaching youth manliness. It was clear to him that the principal item of instruction in elementary schools was to be religion. He thought that firmly inculcated scriptural passages, which come to the memory of the young man in the hour of temptation, form a moral backbone. Elementary education should also impart to the people a theory of life; this, however, could only be Church doctrine. The choice lies solely between Christianity and Materialism, all intermediary systems having proved ineffective from a pedagogical point of view. For these reasons, as an author, he took the part of the Positive party, for nothing could be achieved by Liberalism amongst the people; but no more now than previously did he affect to be in accordance with the Church. I do not doubt that the struggle against the powers of destruction filled him with growing respect for the forces we are dependent upon, but his philosophical convictions had remained the same; his judgment of Radicals alone had accentuated. Almost comical was his indignation against the Berlin Press. He wondered whether the future would realize the stupidity of a legislation which permitted every Jew to drag *into publicity* whatever pains and grieves other

human beings, and yet remain in the dark, singing: "Oh wie gut dass niemand weiss dass ich Rumpelstilchen heiss!" ("I take good care to let none know that my name is Ikey Mo"). In addition, the privilege of deputies to slander with impunity all absentees! His aversion for the Berliners was very much in the ascendant. He thought that the most unbearable form of stupidity, which affects to understand everything, was the one most frequently encountered in Berlin. There was still a humorous ring in all he said, and yet I missed the former cheerfulness with which he smiled at the turns of his own speeches. He was no more Liberal, and as time wore on his periodical sank to the level of a small local publication of the few Independent Conservatives. In the end he had to experience that the Prussian *Annuals*, which owed him everything, got rid of him in 1889, the publisher not wishing to see that Liberal periodical steer into reactionary channels. The two editors did not agree, and he never used to decipher the initials H. D. of his fellow-writer otherwise but "Hans Daps" ("Hans, the Duffer"). But soon Hans Daps threw him overboard, and although Treitschke was glad to be freed from duties which delayed his life-work, he never imagined he would have to part from his *Annuals* under such conditions. He experienced, partially, how they now developed into the Polish Danish *Annuals*, which did not increase his pleasure at their latest era. *Treitschke's attitude* against the Puttkamer ortho-

graphy, had the approval of his Heidelberg friends, especially that of Herrmann, who, meanwhile, had returned to us. Treitschke was assured that Puttkamer himself realized subsequently his mistaken procedure. We were less in sympathy with his declaration against Gossler's proscription of foreign words, Treitschke himself having formerly complained about the jargon of Vienna stock exchange and cafés which spoil our language.

Particularly in Treitschke's fourth volume of *German History*, published in 1889, his position, altered since the Jewish question in regard to ecclesiastical policy, made itself felt. But in the whole work, full of unbounded enthusiasm, the parts which adulate the pioneers of pietism, the mission, and Lutheranism, are those which give us a forced impression. Most strikingly was it demonstrated in the *History of Literature*, where he discussed D. Fr. Strauss in such a slighting manner. At the time he had read Strauss's books as he had read all important novelties. When giving a characteristic account of this most influential critic of the present day, in his *German History*, he had nothing in front of him, except my biography of Strauss, in two volumes, from which, almost verbally, is culled the final passage of his paragraph; but, as a rule, he simply used to turn my conclusions upside down. Whereas I had laid stress upon the deep tragedy of his life, which makes the whole of his future dependent upon the first epoch-making work, and whereas I

showed how embitterment, likewise, had impaired Strauss's creative power, his version was that Strauss was one of those unhappy geniuses who developed in retrograde manner, as if Hutten, the old and new faith, and the poetical memorandum book, did not represent the goal of this retrogression—works which are more read to-day than the *Life of Jesus*. He exaggerated the parable of the founder, and the Suabian Master of Arts, to such an extent, as to describe Strauss's *Theology* as the outpourings of a bookworm, and repeating Dubois Reumont's well-known reference to a ward of women suffering from cancer, who could not be comforted by Strauss's *Theology*. He maintained that it is the duty of the Spiritual Guide to comfort the weary and the oppressed—as if Strauss had ever denied it, and had had the intention to write for women suffering from cancer. He would have done better to leave such arguments to his new clerical friends.

After such experiences I was very pleased that, in regard to the Zedlitz School Law Proposal, he defended no other standpoint than the one expressed by me in the *Kolnische Zeitung*, in which, at the request of the editor, I compared Baden School legislation with that of Zedlitz. At a loss to find admission elsewhere, Treitschke was now obliged to descend into the arena of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, which formerly used to be so unsympathetic to him. To fight side by side with the old companion afforded me particular pleasure, for he

warned the Government to pass a bill, with the assistance of the Conservatives and Ultramontanes which was repugnant to the majority of the Protestants, and which abandoned the principle that the School belongs to the State. He also admitted so many exceptions to the recently promulgated rule that schools are to be denominational, that hardly any difference remained between his views and those of the Liberals. His coming forward had to be appreciated all the more since, during the last three years, he had completely turned his back on the writing of political articles and, personally, had great sympathies for Count Zedlitz; whereas it visibly afforded him pleasure to attack Caprivi. He declared Zedlitz to be one of the most amiable and capable men of the Prussian aristocracy, but it was the curse of the present day to employ clever people in the wrong place. Zedlitz would have been the right man for the Agricultural Portfolio, but for a hundred and one reasons he was least fitted to be Minister of Public Instruction.

Treitschke's contest with Baumgarten, although forced upon him, was less pleasing to me. Like all strong, subjective dispositions, Baumgarten demanded absolute objectiveness from everybody else, and while he himself bubbled over with bright paradoxes, exaggerations and risky assertions on the part of his friends were totally unbearable to him. Already, in Karlsruhe, he used to say of many a symptom of Prussomania of Treitschke, "Every kind of idolatry is bad."

While Treitschke, in Berlin, had gradually identified himself more and more with the views of Prussian Conservatives, Baumgarten, in Strassburg, had conceived a passionate aversion for Prussian bureaucracy. Thanks to his friend, Roggenbach, entrusted with the Chair for Modern History, at the time of the foundation of the Strassburg University, he had closely attached himself to the Protestant Alsatians, particularly to those of the Theologian Faculty, and had defended their cause first for Roggenbach, and later, in the Senate. In opposition to the Prussian violence of some ambitious men, who strove to take possession of the funds of the Thomas Home for the benefit of the University, he pointed out that, thanks to these foundations, Protestantism, in Alsace, had been preserved and, as Rector, he brought about the abandonment of this proposal which would for ever have alienated the Protestants from Prussia. He endorsed the complaints of Alsatian parents regarding Prussian School Administration, having himself become involved in a heated discussion with the Director of the School on account of his son. He stigmatized as political insanity, Manteuffel's patronage of Notables, who were the hated opponents of his Pro-German Alsatian friends, and referred to the testimony of Count Türckheim and others, who had had the intention of becoming Prussian, but now met their Alsatian sworn enemies in the drawing-room of the Governor as family friends. All these experiences had

produced in Baumgarten a feeling which, although he did not wish it to be called Prussophobia, nevertheless resembled it as one egg resembles another. Anyhow, the Alsatians were his friends, and the Prussian officials were the continuous object of his criticism, whereby he rose, of course, in the favour of the Administration. But when every new volume of Treitschke's historical work took a more one-sided Prussian view than the previous one, and Treitschke excused in Prussia what he considered a crime in Austria, and, moreover, regarded with particular contempt the Small States and their Liberalism, Baumgarten lost patience, which never had been his strong point. This was the cause of the polemical pamphlet, published in 1885 against Treitschke, of which Sybel rightly said that Baumgarten's system of tracing every difference of opinion to a wrong moral condition, could only be explained pathologically. It was, perhaps, expressed too strongly when Treitschke spoke of a mass of abuse and suspicions in the "libellous pamphlet"; but nobody will agree with Baumgarten, who discovers in one of the most beautiful works of our historic literature nothing but exaggerations and wrong conclusions, and contends that this history might truly be read as truth and fiction. Phrases such as the following: "Notice how his own achievement corresponds with his arrogance," were neither in harmony with the old friendship for Treitschke nor with the importance of the assailant himself,

whom nobody placed in the same rank with Treitschke.

Treitschke was deeply hurt at the hostile attack upon the work which he had written with his life blood. "When I started this work," so he wrote to Egelhaaf, "I harboured the harmless idea it must yet be possible to please for once the Germans. I am now cured of this delusion. We are still lacking a natural history tradition; by representing modern history as it has happened, one encounters at every step struggles with party legends; and must put up with abuse from all sides. I hope, however, my book will live, and when I shall have occasion to speak of Prussian misdeeds under Friedrich Wilhelm IV the Press will perhaps also adopt a different attitude. In the long run, I am not afraid of the judgment of the South Germans. The real seat of acrimonious captiousness, which to-day poisons our public life, is the North. The Upper Germans have understood better at all times how to live, and let live. I am confident, that with the adjustment of the struggle for civilization there will be formed in the political world an element, conservative in the true sense. Continue to be of good courage for your patriotic struggles, my dear Sir; time will come when Germans again will enjoy life and their country, and will overcome the political children's complaint of aimless dissatisfaction."

The partial justice of Baumgarten's polemics, which we also recognize, did not lie in isolated

blame which Treitschke successfully refuted, and against which both Sybel and Erdmansdoerffer, both certainly competent judges, objected to. It was against the general distribution of light and shade, that objection could be raised. In a work judging so severely nearly all monarchs of Europe, the idealization of Friedrich Wilhelm III was most surprising. The King who had behaved feebly during the war, and in peace times persecuted patriots such as Arndt, and John, and destroyed the life of hundreds of brave young men because in every member of a Students' Corps he suspected a Jacobin and with narrow-minded obstinacy clung to this prejudice, who in the desire to obtain qualification for liturgics bestowed upon Prussia the disorganizing ritual quarrel, and refused the clergy who demurred an increase of salary, who drove the Lutherans into separation, who with his stupid adoration of Metternich and the Czar had to be styled the strongest supporter of the reaction in Germany, he remains for us a bad monarch, and the personal good qualities and domestic virtues, which nobody contests, Treitschke would never have so strongly emphasized in the case of a Habsburg or a Wittelsbach. Treitschke by no means disguised these events, but his final judgment is reminiscent of Spittler's characterization of the author of the Formula of Concord of which the caustic Suabian Spittler said that counting up all his bad qualities, and questionable actions, one wonders that, on the

whole, such an honourable figure was the outcome of it. It was natural that the South German Democracy approved of Baumgarten's attack upon their most dangerous opponent; the Jewish Press in Berlin made propaganda for his pamphlet, and when visiting us in the autumn Treitschke complained that at every bookseller's window Baumgarten's booklet glared at him, and that certain students in order to annoy him placed it during lectures before them. But not one bitter word he uttered against Baumgarten, and it was only sad that an old friendship came to an end in this way. In a letter to Heigel he replied to the reproach that in his Prussian arrogance he considered the South Germans only as Second Class Germans in the following manner: "I am only politically a Prussian; as a man I feel more at home in South and Central Germany than in the North; nearly all my fondest recollections date from Upper Germany, my wife is from Bodensee, and my daughters born in the Palatine are considered South Germans here. I hope you will not be one of those who will be biased by Baumgarten's acrimony. In my opinion historic objectiveness consists in treating big things in a big way, and small things in a small way. It was my duty to show that the old Prussian absolutism has done great and good deeds after 1815, and that South German constitutional life had to go through difficult years of apprenticeship before it was clarified. *If these* incontestable facts are uncom-

fortable for present-day party politics, I must not therefore pass them in silence, or screen them. Whatever you may think about them, you will not, I hope, find North German prejudices in my book. To my mind Baumgarten was always the embodiment of the ugliest fault of North Germans, *i. e.*, acrimonious fault-finding, and it almost amuses me that he sets himself up as South Germany's attorney, when from the South I am constantly receiving reports concurring with my views." Baumgarten himself denied the offensive nature of his expressions, and only when Erdmansdoerffer, in a discussion in the *Grenzbote* anent Baumgarten's own writings, rendered certain parts verbatim in parenthesis, he could have realized how such words would appeal to the attacked party.

All this unpleasantness, however, seemed insignificant in the presence of a fate which, since 1892, threatened the hero already tried sufficiently. Working night after night he had kept awake by incessant smoking until he contracted nicotine poisoning, which affected his eyes. As he underwent the Heidelberg ophthalmologist's treatment he spent a longer period during the holidays in Heidelberg than hitherto. It was impossible to imagine anything more pathetic than the perspective which he, without lamentation, yet with deadly earnest was taking into consideration: "Life is not worth living when I am both deaf and blind" he said, but how could we console him? *Reading from* lip movements was most difficult

for him considering the increasing weakness of his eyes; writing was not to be thought of, so that any connected conversation was impossible: "Why all this to me?" he asked bitterly. His excellent wife was ill in a neurotic establishment, his only son had died at the age of fourteen, the eldest daughter, formerly his principal interpreter, married abroad. "I do not wish for anything else in life," he said, "but to be able to work. Is that an unreasonable wish?" Who would have thought that this strong nature might ever have needed consolation. The leave-taking in April, 1893, was intensely sad. In the autumn I was again called from the garden; Herr Treitschke was waiting on the balcony. When entering he joyfully stretched forth both hands. "How glad I am I came to you! When I was here last time I could not see the Castle, it was as if a fog were in front of my eyes, and now I see the outlines clearly. I am getting better!" The doctor also had expressed himself as being satisfied. Joyfully he related that more than ever his lectures had afforded him consolation. As he was not allowed either to read or write he had devoted the whole of his time to their preparation, and with his admirable memory he, but rarely referring to a book, with such assistance as happened to be available, had delivered his lectures, and caused enthusiasm amongst the students as in his best days. In the happy mood in which he was on that day he consented to my inviting for the evening, all *the old friends* from his Heidelberg times, and

some other admirers; and he was so gay and lively, that nobody would have suspected him to be a man fated to hear henceforth of the outer world only by letters pressed into his hands. The improvement was a lasting one. The fifth volume appeared in the autumn of 1894, and in force of style and clearness of matter fully equalled the former books. It was an enigma how, in view of the care he had to exercise in regard to his eyes, he could have mastered this literature. But the enemy had not cleared the field; it simply attacked from another quarter. In the winter of 1896, the sad news arrived that Treitschke had been struck down by an incurable kidney disease. He fought like a hero, but hope there was none. Soon dropsy set in, and the heart in its oppressed state caused the strong man indescribable feelings of anguish. "Who is to finish my book?" he asked.

Bailleu, in his beautiful necrologue, relates of these last days: "I found him turning over with difficulty his excerpts, and reading with visible effort. He began to speak of his sixth volume, whose progress I had discussed with him in the Archives, bringing him one part after another. His suffering features became animated when, speaking of the unassuming greatness of the Prince of Prussia, whose campaign in Baden he had studied, and by which he, with the Prussian Army, in the general dissolution of 1848 wished to represent the healthy basis for the future of Germany. '*Our dear old* gentleman! Since his death every

possible misfortune has befallen me.' I tried to console him by referring to the growing success of his *German History*. 'Oh, I have had but little luck in life, and if now—but it can't be. God cannot take me away before I have finished my sixth volume, and then—' as if soliloquizing, he added, 'I have yet the other work to write.'" I believe few of Treitschke's friends could have read these details without being moved to tears. For some days there seemed to be an improvement. The day before his death, he had joked with his daughters in his old style. On the morning of 28 April, 1896, he was gently, and quickly, relieved of his sufferings. At his funeral, admirers and friends from near and far assembled. Soon after, his children sent me a dear memento from their father. There had been three pictures in his room. The first, Kamphausen's *Battle of Freiberg*: in the foreground a Saxon colonel is to be seen as prisoner, and also conquered flags, and drums emblazoned with the Saxon arms. "When will these blessed days come back?" he once wrote to his friend, Gutschmid. The second picture was Mentzel's *Great Elector*, whom Erdmansdoerffer kept in good memory. The third picture, by Schrader, sent to me by the daughters, I liked best. It represented Cromwell listening to his blind friend, Milton, when he played the organ. I knew that this picture of the poet, who was also lacking a sense, and who, nevertheless, had thrown his weight into the scale of human culture, had

often been a consolation to him. At the same time, the widow sent me the photo of my friend lying on his death-bed. Asleep, he seems on it, rocked in happy dreams. The dearest recollections are, however, to me, the many volumes of his works, which he had sent me regularly. I can never read even one of these pages without a re-awakening of the sound with which he would have spoken that passage, and without my seeing the spirited smile which accompanied his words; this sheet-lightning of his mind had something irresistible in his big features, and even those had to smile who were not at all in sympathy with his utterances. Much he has had to suffer, and more he escaped through timely death, and yet he has been one of the happiest mortals, a favourite of the gods; as the poet justly says:

"Alles geben die Götter unendlichen ihren Lieblingen ganz
Alle Freuden die unendlichen alle Schmerzen die unendlichen ganz."

But one question was at that time on everybody's lips, with which he, himself, departed from the world: "Who will now finish the *German History* as he would have done?" And the answer is: No one.

THE ARMY.

I.

THE possession of a powerful and well-disciplined Army is a sign of great excellence in a nation, not only because the Army is a necessary stand-by in our relations with other countries, but also because a noble people with a glorious past will be able to use its Army as a bloodless weapon for long periods together. The Army will also be a popular school for manly virtue in an age when business and pleasure often cause higher things to be forgotten. Of course, it must be admitted that there are certain highly-strung and artistic natures which cannot endure the burden of military discipline. People of this kind often cause others to hold quite erroneous views on universal service. But in dealing with these great questions one must not take abnormal persons as a standard, but rather bear in mind the old adage, "Mens sana in corpore sano." This physical strength has particular significance in periods such as ours. One of the shortcomings of English culture lies in the fact that the English have no universal military service. This fault is in some measure atoned for on the one hand by the extraordinary

development of the Fleet, and on the other by the never-ending little wars in countless colonies which occupy and keep alive the virile forces of the nation. The fact that great physical activity is still to be observed in England is partly due to the constant wars with the colonies. But a closer view will reveal a very serious want. The lack of chivalry in the English character, which presents so striking a contrast with the naïve loyalty of the Germans, has some connection with the English practice of seeking physical exercise in boxing, swimming, and rowing, rather than in the use of noble arms. Such exercises are no doubt useful; but no one can fail to observe that this whole system of athletics tends to further brutalize the mind of the athlete, and to set before men the superficial ideal of being always able to carry off the first prize.

The normal and most reasonable course for a great nation to pursue is, therefore, to embody the very nature of the State; that is to say, its strength, in an ordered Army drawn from its people and perpetually being improved. The ultra-sensitive and philosophical mode of regarding these questions has gone out of fashion among us who live in a warlike age, so that we are able to come back to the view of Clausewitz, who looked upon war as a mighty continuation of politics. All the peace-advocates in the world put together will never persuade the political powers to be of one *mind, and* as long as they differ, the sword is and

must be the only arbiter. We have learned to recognize the moral majesty of war just in those aspects of it which superficial observers describe as brutal and inhuman. Men are called upon to overcome all natural feeling for the sake of their country, to murder people who have never before done them any harm, and whom they perhaps respect as chivalrous enemies. It is things such as these that seem at the first glance horrible and repulsive. Look at them again and you will see in them the greatness of war. Not only the life of man, but also the right and natural emotions of his inmost soul, his whole ego, are to be sacrificed to a great patriotic ideal; and herein lies the moral magnificence of war. If we pursue this idea still further, we shall see that in spite of its hardness and roughness, war links men together in brotherly love, for it levels all differences of rank, and draws men together by a common sense of the imminence of death. Every student of history knows that to do away with war would be to cripple human nature. No liberty can exist without an armed force ready to sacrifice itself for the sake of freedom. One cannot insist too often on the fact that scholars never touch upon these questions without presupposing that the State only exists as a sort of academy of arts and sciences. This is of course also part of its duty, but not its most immediate duty. A State which cultivates its mental powers at the expense of its *physical ones* cannot fail to go to ruin.

Generally speaking, we must admit that the greatness of historical life lies in character rather than in education; the driving forces of history are to be found on spheres where character is developing. Only brave nations have any real history. In the hour of trial in national life it becomes evident that warlike virtues have the casting vote. There is great truth in the old phrase which described war as the *examen rigorosum* of the States. In war, the States are called upon to show, not only the extent of their physical, but also of their moral power, and in a certain measure of their intellectual capacity. . . . War brings to light all that a nation has collected in secret. It is not an essential part of the nature of armies to be always fighting; the noiseless labour of armament goes on equally in time of peace. The entire value of the work done for Prussia by Frederick William I did not appear until the days of Frederick the Great, when the tremendous force which had been slowly collecting suddenly revealed itself to the world at large. The same is true of the year 1866.

And just because war is nothing more than a powerful embodiment of politics, its issues are decided, not by technical factors alone, but chiefly by the policy which directs it. It is very significant that when Wrangel and Prittwitz might have been able to get the better of the Danes in 1848, and 1849, the King, who seems to have *felt horror* at the thought of taking this step, and

who, moreover, feared Russia, did not himself know what he wanted. An Army can never be expected to fight when its leaders are in doubt as to the advisability of a particular military action. Every war is by nature a radical one, and in many cases the efficiency of the troops will prove useless in face of the hesitation and aimlessness of the policy which it serves. Remember the campaign in Champagne in 1792. One technical superiority of the Prussian and Austrian troops over the *sans culottes* was at that date still very considerable, and in the neighbourhood of Mannheim a single battalion of the Wedell Regiment prevented two French divisions from crossing the Rhine during the whole of one day. But still the political result of the war was the complete downfall of the coalition. The Allies were not of one mind; their policy lacked all definite aim, and the campaign was being conducted at haphazard. Political considerations of this kind, which interfere with the strategy of the leaders, are particularly disastrous in wars conducted by coalitions, and history has often proved the truth of the line, "the strong man is strongest when alone." In the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, the incompetent Prussian generals, in concert with the talented Prussian commanders, carried on war to the knife, whereas the more competent Austrians, who were hindered by the aimless policy of their country, showed themselves lukewarm and indifferent. A policy such as that of the Austrians could not

hope to find a better commander than Schwarzenberg. Many wars have been lost before they were begun because they were the result of a policy which did not know its own mind. Every healthy-minded Army is conscious of a strong sense of chivalry and personal honour. But under certain circumstances this military sense of honour becomes oversensitive. Abuses are, of course, to be deplored, but this touchiness is in itself a wholesome symptom. The duel is not a thing which can be disregarded even among civilians. In a democratic community the duel is the last protest which can be made against a complete subversion of social manners and customs. A certain restraint is put upon a man by the thought that he will risk his life by offending against social usage; and it is better that now and then a promising young life should be laid down than that the social morality of a whole people should be brutalized. A sense of class honour also fosters the great moral strength which resides in the Army and which is the cause of a large part of its effectiveness. The officers would lose the respect of their subordinates if they did not show a more ticklish sense of honour and a finer breeding. Since duelling was abolished in England, moral coarseness in the Army has been on the increase, and officers have been known to come to blows in railway carriages in the very presence of their wives. It is obvious how greatly such conduct *must impair* the respect due from the men to their

superiors. The statement of the democrat that a man of the lower classes will more readily obey his equal than a gentleman is entirely false. The respect of a soldier for a man of really distinguished character will always be greater than his respect for an old corporal. This truth was plainly demonstrated in the last war, when it was found that the French officers did not possess enough authority over their men.

As warfare is but the tremendous embodiment of foreign policy, everything relating to military affairs must have a very intimate connection with the constitution of the State, and, in its turn, the particular organization of the Army must determine which of many types of warfare shall be followed. Because the Middle Ages were aristocratic, most of the battles then fought were between cavalry, which has always been the pre-eminently aristocratic instrument of war. The results of this idea may still be observed to-day. Too great a preponderance of cavalry is always a sign that the economic condition of a nation is still defective, and that the power of the aristocracy in the State is too absolute. . . . Mechanical weapons have, on the other hand, always been the especial property of the middle classes. Engineering has always flourished among commercial nations, because they possess both capital and technical skill. Among the ancients, the Carthaginians were technically the most important nation in military affairs; but Rome

conquered them in the end, not because her generals were better, but because of the moral force which held her National Army together.

For however important technique may be in war, it never turns the scales unaided. Economic considerations such as skill in engineering or in systematic collaboration can never help one to determine the value of an Army. Still, this is what the commercial nations seek to do, for they look upon an Army of purely professional soldiers as the best. It is not technical but abstract and moral superiority that tells in the long run in war. As far as physical capacity goes, the English soldiers are very efficient; they are trained to box, and are fed on an incredibly liberal scale. But even people in England are realizing more and more strongly that there is something wrong with their Army, and that it cannot be compared with a National Army because the moral energies of the people are excluded from it. The world is not as materialistic as Wellington supposed. Wellington used to say that enthusiasm in an Army could only produce confusion and other ill-effects. The really national weapon of England is the Fleet. The martial enthusiasm of the country—and it is far stronger than is usually supposed on the Continent, because the idea of a British universal Empire is very general among the people—must be sought on the men-of-war.

In considering these questions we must never lose sight of the purely moral value of the National Army as opposed to its purely national and political value. We must be quite clear as to whether the perpetual complaints of the great cost of our military system are justified. It is certain that the blood-tax imposed by the military burden is the greatest which a nation can be called upon to bear. But we must never forget that there are, and ought to be, things which are above all price. Moral possessions have no price, and it is therefore unreasonable to try to reckon the value of the honour and power of the State in terms of money. Money can never represent what we lost when the flower of our youthful manhood fell on the battle-fields of France. It is unworthy to judge the possessions of the soul as if they were material. A great nation is acting in a right and reasonable way if it seeks to give expression to the idea of the State, which stands for power, in the form of a well-ordered military organization. Without it, trade and intercourse could not prosper. If one were to try to imagine the country without the Army which protects our civil peace, it would be impossible to say how great would be the decrease in our national revenues.

Under ordinary circumstances the right to bear arms must always be looked upon as the privilege of a free man. It was only during the last period of the Roman Empire that the system of keeping mercenaries was adopted. And as mercenary

troops consisted, except for their officers, of the lowest dregs of society, the idea soon became prevalent that military service was a disgrace; and the free citizen began to show himself anxious not to take part in it. This conception of the mercenary system has gone on perpetuating itself through the ages, and its after-effects have been strikingly demonstrated even in our own day. Our century has been called upon to witness, in the formation of the National and Civil Guards, the most immoral and unreasonable developments of which the military system is capable. The citizens imagined themselves too good to bear arms against the enemies of their country, but they were not averse to playing at soldiers at home, and even to being able to defend their purse if it should happen to be in danger. Hence the truly disgusting invention of the National Guard, and the inhuman legal provision that in the event of a popular disturbance the adored rabble might receive an immediate shaking at the hands of the guard. The Army was only to interfere if things became serious. This shows a complete failure to realize the moral nobility of the duty of defence. The right to bear arms will ever remain the honorary privilege of the free man. All noble minds have more or less recognized the truth that "The God Who created iron did not wish men to be thralls." And it is the task of all reasonable political systems to keep this idea *in honour*.

II.

The example of the German National Army has had an irresistible influence on the rest of Europe. The ridicule heaped on it in previous decades has now been shown to be unwarranted. It was the custom abroad to look down on the Prussian territorial system (Landwehr) and on the Prussian boy army. Things are very different now. We know now that moral factors in warfare weigh more heavily than technical excellence; and it is further evident that the ever-increasing technical experience of life in barracks brings with it a corresponding brutalization of the moral instincts. The old sergeants of France were in no way superior to the German troops, as the French had expected. We may say with truth that the problem of giving a military education to the strength of the nation and of making full use of the trained Army was first seriously dealt with in Germany. Our Army constitutes a peculiar and necessary continuation of the scholastic system. For many people it would be impossible to devise a better means of education. For such persons, living as they do in a period in which mental restraint is lacking, the drill and enforced cleanliness, and strict military discipline are indispensable from every point of view. Carlyle prophesied that the Prussian conception of universal military service would go the round of the globe. *Since 1866* and 1870, when the organiza-

tion of the Prussian Army stood its trial so brilliantly, nearly all the other great Powers of the Continent have sought to imitate its methods.

But imitation abroad is not as easy as was supposed because the Prussian Army is really a nation in arms, and the peculiarities and refinements of the national character are naturally exemplified in it. Above all, a system of this kind cannot be established unless the nation possesses a certain degree of political freedom, is satisfied with the existing régime, and can count on social freedom in the Government. A natural respect for superior education is also necessary, for without it the institution of the One-year Volunteers would be unthinkable. This system has been introduced simply in order to make it economically and morally possible for young men belonging to the educated classes to serve in the ranks. In France this voluntary system has proved a failure because an external equality between different classes of men has been insisted upon. In Germany we could hardly do without it. Quite apart from the fact that our supply of professional officers is not nearly large enough in the event of war, the educated young men who in the One-year Voluntary Service transforms into territorial reserve officers, and who stand in many ways in a closer relationship to the people than the professional officers, form a natural link between the latter and the rank and file of the Army.

The heavy burden of universal military service

can be lightened in a certain measure by decentralization, which usually enables a man to serve in his native province. Our Provincial Army Corps have, on the whole, quite justified their existence. They should remain the rule; and as a wholesome counterweight we have, in the Guard, a corps which includes men from all parts of the country, and forms a crack regiment, one of whose functions it is to spur on the rest of the Army. The rigid centralization of France makes the existence of Provincial Army Corps such as ours an impossibility. The natives of Normandy and of the Pyrenees there stand side by side in the same regiment. In Germany, on the other hand, common nationality is rightly looked upon as a strong cement which will ensure the solidarity of separate bodies of troops. This universal military service, if it is to preserve the existence of the State, must naturally presuppose unity in the nation as a whole. One or two isolated little provinces, peopled by foreign races, do not greatly affect the question, and a few simple precautions will do away with any threatened danger from those quarters. In Austria things are more serious, because there the officers in the Reserve are the weak point of the army. They are good Czechs, good Germans, and good Magyars, but not good Austrians; and this flaw may some day bring about disastrous consequences.

In all these matters of military organization we were until quite lately the leader of the other

nations. During the last few years the neighbouring States have made such strenuous efforts to obtain military power that we have been obliged to go further—this time in imitation of other nations. The furthest limits to this onward movement are improved by nature of things, and the enormous physical strength of the Germanic race will see to it that we have a perpetual advantage in this respect over the less faithful nations. The French have nearly reached the utmost limits of their capacity; the Germans possess, in this respect, far wider elbow-room.

I will ask you once more to observe the nature of the influence exercised on warfare by these new methods in military affairs. The general tendency of this system is towards peace. A nation in arms is not as easily drawn away from its social occupations to take part in a frivolous war as a Conscript Army would be. Wars will become rarer and of shorter duration, although more bloody. Desire to return home will drive the Army to advance. The temper of the Prussian soldiers in the summer of 1866, expressed in the words, "Let us press on towards the Danube, so that we may get home again soon," should be looked upon as the normal temper of a courageous and, at the same time, peace-loving National Army. There can be no difficulty, to-day, in understanding the bold spirit in warfare which seeks, above all, to plunge a dagger into the heart of the enemy. *It may be said* that nothing is absolutely impossible

to a National Army of this kind when the nation can look back over a glorious past. The experiences of our last two wars, especially in the Battles of Königgrätz and Mars La Tour, have proved this to be true. We saw, at the Battle of Sadowa, that fourteen Prussian battalions could stand against something like forty-two Austrian ones; and the Franco-Prussian War furnished us with numerous instances of decisive battles in which we fought facing our own frontiers, so that if we had lost we should have been driven back into the interior of the enemy's country. In the case of a modern national army, the duty of sparing men is entirely swallowed up in the higher duty of annihilating the enemy. The fear of desertion need not be entertained; the Army can be billeted wherever it is.

The famous saying of Montecucoli, cited even by Frederick the Great, belongs to a period now entirely past. Montecucoli had said that in order to wage war a nation must have money, and money, and yet more money. It is true that a great deal of money is needed for the preparations involved by war; but when fighting has once begun, the conqueror can do without ready money. He can simply fall back on the resources of the occupied territory, and may even abstain from paying his troops for the moment. Once, when Blücher imposed a huge war contribution on the French in order to feed his hungry soldiers, the King sent an order *forbidding* him to embitter the French

too much, and promising that the soldiers' pay should be procured in Prussia. Blücher replied, "Your Majesty's Army is not a mercenary army. Even if I am not permitted to take money from a hostile country, we will not be an unnecessary burden to our mother country." It is a well-known fact that Napoleon began the campaign of 1806 with a war chest of forty thousand francs, and in 1813 we were, ourselves, in a far worse plight. We had, at the beginning, only two thousand thalers (about six thousand marks) in cash; but the first thing we did was to turn the pecuniary resources of the Saxons into ready money, and so we went on.

A certain self-reliance on the part of under-commanders has become a necessity in the enormous National Army of the present day. General Manteuffel once told me that on the misty morning of the Battle of Noisseville, he was only able to give quite general directions; for the rest, he relied entirely on the initiative and sense of responsibility of his generals. The final stages in the development of war on the principle of universal service have not yet been reached, and the world has not, as yet, beheld a war between two national armies. During the first half of the last great war, we witnessed a meeting between a really national army and a conscript army, and later, an improvised Militia. The spectacle of the encounter between two perfectly trained national armies, *which* we have yet to see, will certainly be a

gigantic one. The world will then witness enormous losses, and enormous results. And, if we consider the multitude of new technical devices produced in these modern times, we must realize that future wars will give rise to far more astounding revelations than any during the Franco-Prussian War.

The new means of transport are especially important in modern warfare. A State cannot have too many railways for military purposes. An immediate occupation of an enemy's country is especially important in modern warfare, for it puts an effective stop to all recruiting. One of Napoleon III's most serious mistakes in 1870 was, that he failed to occupy at least a portion of the left bank of the Rhine. We could not, at the outset, have prevented him from doing so, and this fact is openly stated in the introduction to the work composed by the general staff, which Moltke no doubt wrote himself. We should, by that means, have lost two army corps from our field army.

It is certain, then, that the more railways lead to the frontier, the better. But I must here repeat that everything has its natural limits. It is true that an extensive railway system facilitates the collection of an army on the frontier the moment war is declared; but during the war its use is far more restricted. It is quite easy for a scouting party to make a railway impracticable for a long time. The working capacity of a railway is also

limited, and it can only transport a given number of men and guns in each day. Our general staff has calculated that an army of 60,000 men can cover thirty miles as quickly on foot as by train. It is often more useful for the troops to spend this time in marching. It thus follows that railway transport is only an advantage when the distances to be covered are great, and even then the advantage is sometimes doubtful. If a line of advance is to be kept secret, the troops must march. This is proved by Bourbaki's unsuccessful expedition against Southern Alsace. He collected his army in trains, and tried to bring it up in that way as far as the Vosges. All officers are of opinion that if the troops had gone on foot, the German outposts of the small detachments, on the western spurs of the Vosges, would not have observed them soon enough. As it was, our Uhlan patrols on the heights were able to report a noticeable activity on the railway lines in the valley, and General Werder thus had time to draw in his men, and cause them to take up a defensive position. The old truth that very much depends on the marching capacity of an efficient body of infantry, still holds good in modern warfare.

Our ideas regarding the importance of the fortress have, on the other hand, undergone a complete change. The time has long vanished when every town was a fortress, and a long campaign in a hostile country usually ended by taking the form of siege-warfare. To-day, the question is even

being asked, "Are fortresses any longer of practical use?" The Germans answer this question far more sensibly than the French. France surrounded herself with a tremendous rampart of fortresses, reaching from Sedan to Belfort, and thus believed herself shut off from Germany as by a Chinese wall. But in so long a line there must somewhere be a weak spot, which the Germans will certainly end by finding. There is, however, an even more important consideration. Walls cannot defend themselves, and if they are to be effectually defended, the great fortresses need a huge garrison, which is thus lost to the field army. The Germans are of opinion that small-barrier forts are necessary, and may be useful even to-day. A little mountain fortress of this kind, situated on a defile can, under certain circumstances, cut the enemy off from using a whole system of roads.

The Saxon fortress of Königstein, for instance, is not impregnable, but a siege of the place might drag on indefinitely. It was from this fortress that a successful attempt was made in 1866 to destroy the important railway from Dresden to Prague, so that the Prussians were unable to use it for a fortnight. The railway could not be repaired, because the batteries of the fortress commanded the line. The advance of the Prussians into Bohemia was thus made very difficult. The fortress of Bitsch, in the Vosges, plays a very similar part. Little mountain strongholds will

thus continue to be of service for some time to come.

On the other hand, it is necessary to maintain the large strongholds known as army fortresses, in order to have places of refuge for a whole army, and especially so that one may there shelter and replenish a beaten army. Strassburg and Metz exist for this purpose. All our officers agree, however, that we must not have too many fortresses of this type. Many deny that they have any use at all, for decisive actions in war are always fought in the open field, and any military system which lessens our forces in the field presents very serious drawbacks. A fortress of this kind needs a large garrison even when no enemy is in the neighbourhood. We are always brought back to the fact that national armies, which are so full of moral energy, must be looked upon as pre-eminently capable of assuming a vigorous offensive.

I will conclude by pointing out, very briefly, that the fleet has begun to assume a far more important position—not, in the first place, as an essential factor in a European war, for no one believes now that a war between great Powers could be decided by a naval battle—but as a protection for the merchant navy and the colonies. The task of ruling countries on the other side of the Atlantic will, from henceforth, be the chief duty of European fleets. For, since the object of human culture must be to assert the supremacy

of the white races on the entire globe, the importance of a people will finally depend on the share it takes in the rule of the transatlantic world. It is on this account that the importance of the fleet has so largely increased during our own day.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

IS there really such a thing as international law? Certainly there are two common theories of international relations, each contradictory to the other, each quite untenable. One, the so-called naturalistic theory, dates from Machiavelli. It is based on the notion that the State is merely might personified, that it has the right to do anything that is profitable to it. On this view the State cannot fetter itself by international law; its relations with other States depend simply on the respective strength which it and they possess. This theory leads to an absurdity. It is of course true that the State implies physical might. But if a State be that and nothing else, if it pay no heed to reason or to conscience, it will never maintain itself in a proper condition of safety. Even naturalistic thinkers allow that it is a function of the State to preserve internal order; that it cannot do if it refuses to obey any law in its relations with other States. Its deliberate contempt for good faith, loyalty, and treaty agreements in external relations would raise a crowd of enemies, and prevent it from fulfilling its purpose—the embodiment of physical force. Even Machiavelli's ideal, Cæsar Borgia, ultimately fell into the pit which he

had digged for others. For the end and object of the State's existence is not physical might; it embodies might only in order that it may protect and develop the nobler aspects of mankind. Thus the doctrine of pure might is a vain doctrine; it is immoral because it cannot justify its own existence.

Directly contrary to this view of the State, is another—an equally false view. This is the "moral" conception due to German liberalism. The State is here regarded as a good little boy, to be washed, brushed, and sent to school; he must have his ears pulled, to keep him good, and in return he is to be thankful, just-minded, and Heaven knows what else. This German doctrinaire theory has done as much harm to our political thinking as to other forms of German life. All our political sins can be traced back to the notion —natural enough in a learned nation—that the pronouncement of some scientific truth is adequate to turn the world's course into a new channel. That notion underlies the German spirit of scientific research; it also underlies our tendency to all manner of practical blunders. The doctrinaire exponent of international law fondly imagines that he need only emit a few aphorisms and that the nations of the world will forthwith, as reasonable men, accept them. We forget that stupidity and passion matter, and have always mattered in history. Who, after all, can fail to see the growth of national passions during the nineteenth

century? And whence do individuals—Rotteck, Bluntschli, Heffter, and others—say to States peremptorily, "Thou shalt"? No single man stands high enough to impose his doctrines on all States; he must be ready to see his theories crossed or crushed by actual life. The delusion that there can be such a thing as hypothetical law is at the root of these errors. Positive law is the only law that has real existence. Until the general public has grown convinced of the truth and righteousness of various legal principles, the function of learned men is really limited to preparing the way. Were we to pursue the abstract conception of the State to its logical conclusion, we should find ourselves demanding a supreme authority with world-wide power. The authority would be such as that claimed by the Papal See, an authority not of this world, represented by the Vicegerent of Christ and ruling in the name of God. That is the sort of authority which we do not want on earth; our beautiful world should be a world of liberty. Nevertheless it is only ultramontane thinkers who have consistently worked out to its logical issue the weak and sentimental view of international law which we at this moment are considering. That logical issue has been rightly stated in the great "Codex" of the Jesuits; according to it, the world is, as it were, an ethnarchy in which the nations form an ideal community, while the Pope, as ethnarch, wields over them a coercive power, keeping each State within bounds by spiri-

tual warnings and ghostly power. That is the one practical conclusion deducible from the premise that the State is a body liable to external coercion. No system of international law can, merely because it has a scientific basis, restrain a sovereign State.

So then these two extreme views are both unworkable in practice. Let us see if we can, in their place, set up a theory of international law based on historical foundations. First and before all, we must recognize clearly that we must not overweight our human nature with demands which our weakness cannot meet. That mistake is responsible for the perversion of many an idealist into a disillusioned fanatic. The man who declaims that might and the mailed fist alone decide the rivalry of nations is often a soured fanatic who in his youth smoked away at the pipe of peace, discovered that that was too good, for this poor world, rushed off to the other extreme, and now declares that the basis of all things is brutality and cynicism. No doubt, all great political thinkers show a touch of cynical contempt for mankind, and when this contempt is not too deep, it has its justification. But it is only the man who does not ask the impossible from human nature who can really awaken the finer energies which, despite all frailties and brutish instincts, lie dormant in man.

With this in mind, we must set to work historically and consider the State as it actually is. It

is physical force; but it is also an institution aiming at the betterment of mankind. In so far as it is physical force, it has a natural tendency to grab as many possessions as may seem to it desirable. But every State will nevertheless show of its own accord a real regard for neighbouring States. Prudent calculation and a mutual recognition of advantages will gradually foster an ever-growing sense of justice; there will arise the consciousness that each State is bound up with the common life of the States around it and that, willingly or unwillingly, it must come to terms with them as a body of States. This consideration is prompted not by any sort of philanthropy but by a literal sense of the benefits of reciprocal action. What I may call the formal part of international law, such as the rules which assure the inviolability of ambassadors and which regulate the ceremonial of embassies, was developed and fixed at an early date in history. In modern Europe, the laws about embassies are definite and well determined. It may even be asserted that the formal side of international law is more firmly established and more seldom broken than the laws which govern the internal life of each single State. Still, the existence of international law is precarious; it is a *lex imperfecta*, because there is no higher power to control States as a whole. All depends on the sense of reciprocity between nations, and here, in default (as already said) of a supreme authority, learning and public opinion may play a great part.

The jurist Savigny declared that international law is perpetually in the making. He did not mean, of course, that it has no real validity. For this law which is daily growing is obviously of practical use at every turn. There can be no doubt that the development of modern international law owes a very special debt to Christianity, which extends beyond the limits of single States towards cosmopolitanism in the noblest sense of that term; our ancestors, therefore, were both reasonable and logical when they for a while omitted the Porte from among the nations bound by international law. They could not admit the Porte so long as it was dominated exclusively by Mahometan standards of morals. More recently, Christianity has spread in the Balkans, Mahometanism has somewhat decreased there, and the Porte has been brought into the circle of nations subject to international law.

As States grow from small to large and from weakness to independence they necessarily wish to preserve peace, simply to ensure their safety and to guard the treasures of civilization entrusted to them. Hence grows up a general agreement to obey international law, yielding an orderly association of States, a political system. But this at once presupposes a more or less approximately level balance of power among the nations concerned. The notion of a balance of power in Europe was at the first accepted in a purely mechanical sense. But it contains the germ of a perfectly true political

conception. We must not picture it under the image of a *trutina gentium*, a weighing machine of nations, with both sides of the balance equipoised. It is enough to premise that in any ordered political system no State should be sufficiently strong to be able to act as it pleases with impunity. In this connexion we may note the superiority of present-day Europe over the immature system of States in America. There, the United States can do as they please, and it is only because the relations of the United States with the republics of South America are still rather slight that the latter have as yet suffered little direct interference from their northern neighbour.

The Russian diplomat, Gortshakof, once said, and said with truth, that neither the nations who fear attack nor those who deem themselves strong enough to be able to attack whom they will, will ever hasten the completion of international law. Actual examples will convince us of the correctness of this acute remark. In countries like Belgium and Holland, which have—most unfortunately for the proper growth of international law—long been the chief centres of its study, there has sprung up a sentimental conception of it, begotten no doubt by unceasing fear of attack from outside. These countries have fallen into the custom of addressing to the conqueror demands in the name of humanity which contradict the power of the State, and are unnatural and unreasonable. The

treaties of peace signed at Nymwegen and Ryswick in 1678–9 and 1697 show that then Holland was looked on as the diplomatic cockpit of Europe, where all questions of high politics might be fought out. Later on, this doubtful honour passed to Switzerland. Nowadays, few people reflect how ridiculous it is that Belgium should pose as the home of international law. Just as it is true that that law rests on a basis of practical fact, so true is it that a State which is in an abnormal position will inevitably form an abnormal and perverted conception of it. Belgium is neutral. And yet men think that it can give birth to a healthy system of international law. I will ask you to remember this when you are confronted with the voluminous literature which Belgian scholars have produced on this subject.

Again, there is one country which believes itself in a position to attack when it will, and which is therefore a home of barbarism in all matters of international law. Thanks to England, marine international law is still, in time of war, nothing better than a system of privileged piracy. We see, therefore, that as international law rests wholly on reciprocity, it is vain to ask nations to listen to empty commonplaces about humanity. Theory must here be nailed down to practice; real reciprocity and a real balance of power are inseparable.

If we would further define the sphere of international law, we must bear well in mind that it must never trespass on the existence of the State.

Demands which drive a State towards suicide are necessarily unreasonable; each State must retain its internal sovereignty amid the general community of States; the preservation of that sovereignty is its highest duty even in its dealings with its neighbours. The only principles of international conduct which are seldom broken and may claim to be fixed are those which do not touch this sovereignty, those namely which concern the formal and ceremonial rules mentioned above. To lay a finger on the honour of a State is to contest its existence. Even to reproach a State with a too touchy sense of honour is to misread the true moral laws of politics. That State which will not be untrue to itself must possess an acute sense of honour. It is no violet to flower unseen. Its strength should be shown signally in the light of open day, and it dare not allow that strength to be questioned even indirectly. If its flag be insulted, it must ask satisfaction; if that satisfaction be not forthcoming, it must declare war, however trifling the occasion may seem.

It follows that all the limitations which States lay on themselves in treaties are merely voluntary; all treaties are concluded with a mental reservation —*rebus sic stantibus*—so long as circumstances remain unchanged. No State exists, no State ever will exist, which is willing to observe the terms of any peace for ever; no State can pledge itself to the unlimited observance of treaties, for that would limit its sovereign power. No treaty

can hold good when the conditions under which it was signed have wholly changed. This doctrine has been declared inhuman; in reality it will be found the height of humanity. Until the State has realized that its engagements have but limited duration, it will never exercise due skill in treaty-making. We cannot treat history as if we were judges in a civil court of law. If we did that, we should have to say that Prussia, having signed the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, ought not to have attacked Napoleon in 1813. But that treaty, like all others, was concluded *rebus sic stantibus*, and, thank God, things had completely changed in the six years. A whole nation found itself in a state to escape from intolerable thraldom.

Never disregard the free moral life of the nation as a whole. No State in the wide world can venture to relinquish the "ego" of its sovereignty. If conditions have been imposed on it which cripple it or which it cannot observe, the nation honours itself in breaking them. It is one of the most admirable facts in history that a nation can recover from material loss far sooner than from the slightest insult to its honour. The loss of a province may be accepted as inevitable; the endurance of what we deem to be servitude is an unending insult to a noble-hearted nation. Napoleon, by stationing his troops on Prussian soil, stirred up fierce hatred in the veins even of the most patient. When a State has been wounded in its honour the breach of a treaty is but a matter of time. Eng-

land and France had to admit this in 1870. In their arrogant pride at the end of the Crimean War, they had compelled their exhausted enemy to agree to remove all her warships from the Black Sea. Russia seized the opportunity offered by the Franco-Prussian War to break the agreement, and she was fully within her rights.

If a State finds that any of its existing treaties have ceased to express the relative strength of itself and the other treaty State, and if it cannot induce the latter to a friendly cancelment of the treaty, then has come the moment for the "legal proceedings" customary between nations, that is, for war. And in such circumstances war is declared in the full consciousness that the nation is doing its duty. Personal greed plays no part in such an act. Those who declare war then say to themselves, "Our treaty-obligation has failed to correspond with our relative strength at this moment; we cannot come to friendly terms; we turn to the great assize of the nations." The justice of a war depends wholly on the consciousness of its moral necessity. And since there neither can be nor ought to be any external coercive power controlling the great personages of a State, and since history must ever remain in a state of change, war is in itself justifiable; it is an ordinance of God. No doubt, a State may err as to the necessity of applying this means of coercion. Niebuhr spoke truly, when he said that war can establish no right which did not

previously exist. Just for this reason, we may look upon certain deeds of violence as expiated in the very act of being committed—for example, the completion of German or of Italian unity. On the other hand, since not every war produces the results which it ought to produce, the historian must now and again withhold his judgment and remember that the life of a State lasts for centuries. The proud saying of the conquered Piedmontese, "We will begin again," will always have its place in the history of noble nations.

War will never be swept from the earth by courts of arbitration. In questions that touch the very life of a State, the other members of the community of States cannot possibly be impartial. They must take sides just because they belong to the community of States and are drawn together or forced apart by the most diverse interests. If Germany were foolish enough to try to settle the question of Alsace-Lorraine by arbitration, what European Power could be impartial? You could not find impartiality even in dreamland. Hence the fact—well known to us all—that though international congresses may formulate the results of a war and set them out in juristic language, they can never avert a threatened outbreak of hostilities. Other States can be impartial only in questions of third-rate importance.

We have now agreed that war is just and moral, and that the ideal of eternal peace is both unjust and immoral, and impossible. A purely intel-

lectual life, with its enervating effect on the thinker, may make men think otherwise; let us get rid of the undignified attitude of those who call possible what never can happen. So long as human nature, with its passions and its sins, remains what it is, the sword shall not depart from the earth. It is curious to see how, in the writings of the pacificists, unconsciously the sense of national honour cuts into the talk of cosmopolitanism. In the Old Testament the prophet Joel demanded that Israel should win a bloody battle over the heathen in the valley of Jehosaphat; Victor Hugo clamours in like manner that the Germans shall first get a flogging before universal peace sets in. Again and again it must be repeated that war, the violent form of the quarrels of the nations, is the direct outcome of the very nature of the State. The mere fact that there are many States proves, of itself, that war is necessary. Frederick the Great said that the dream of universal peace is a phantom which everyone ignores so soon as it affects his own freedom of action. A lasting balance of power, he adds, is inconceivable.

Curiously enough, however, it is just in the domain of war that the triumph of the human intellect most clearly asserts itself. All noble nations have felt that the physical power unchained in war must be regulated by laws. The result has been the gradual establishment, by common consent, of rules and customs to be observed in time of war. The greatest successes

of the science of international law have been won in a field which those who are fools look upon as barbarous—I mean the domain of the laws of war. Really gross instances of the violation of military usages are rare in modern times. One of the finest things about international law is that it is perpetually progressing in this respect, and that the *universalis consensus* alone has so firmly planted a whole series of principles that they are now well established. No doubt international law will always lag a little behind the civil law, for various principles of justice and culture must first reach maturity within the State before any one will feel anxious to find them a corner in international conduct. Thus it was that no crusade against slavery could claim the support of international law till the general belief in the dignity of man had become common in the nineteenth century.

Another factor which contributed to strengthen international law is the growing publicity of public life. The days of the English Blue Book are now past; these Blue, Yellow, and Green Books were only intended to blind the Philistine with fumes of a flattery through which he could not see. A clever diplomat can easily hoodwink a parliament by these means. But the whole life of the State is lived today so entirely in the glare of the footlights that a gross violation of international law at once arouses real anger among all civilized peoples.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN TIME OF PEACE

We may now study some of the principles affecting the intercourse of nations in time of peace which have developed into law. All nations should be allowed to enjoy, in security and without distinction, the unifying influences of commercial intercourse, science, and art. Ancient peoples sometimes forbade other nations to practise certain industries which were looked on as secret arts. In the later Roman Empire it was forbidden to imitate barbarians in shipbuilding, and similar monopolist principles obtained even as late as the days of the Hansa League. All that would be impossible today. The State must take the risk of free competition with other States, and that has been laid down in a whole series of treaties.

In classical times it was, further, the custom of almost all nations to claim exclusive access to some particular sea. Later still, it has been held that certain seas which were not properly called oceans belonged to particular States. The Adriatic was the property of Venice, the Ligurian Sea of Genoa, the Gulf of Bothnia of Sweden. Today the sea is said to belong to the States which border on it only so far as it can be militarily controlled from the coast, that is, within gunshot. But in such questions, as in so many others, everything ultimately depends on the actual power of the States concerned. If a particular State can dominate a particular sea, no well-meaning the-

orist can ever make that sea public. The Caspian Sea belongs in name to two States, Persia and Russia. But Russia is so strong that the sea is a Russian lake. So again, if a Power were to arise at Constantinople strong enough to close the Bosphorus to all comers, protestations against such an act would be merely laughed at. Apart from this, the sea must be regarded as open to all ships flying a recognized flag. The high seas are policed by the navies of all nations, and every man-of-war has the right to stop a merchantman and examine its papers. This is the result of a long and intricate development. All nations are now agreed that occasional inconveniences suffered by their merchant ships are a far lesser evil than piracy.

All international rights are safeguarded by treaties. These treaties differ in many details from compacts made under the civil law. In the first place they depend on good faith on both sides, since there is no tribunal to compel either side to observe them. The ancient Athenians were therefore obeying a right instinct when they decided to limit the time during which their treaties with other nations held good. Christian nations have tended rather to regard treaties as eternally binding, but their real attitude is that they are willing to observe the treaty so long as the relative strength of the States involved does not seriously change. The more clearly this truth is *proclaimed*, and the more dispassionately

it is regarded, the safer will be the treaties made; States will not conclude agreements which the other party is likely to break.

There are other treaties which are made under compulsion. Such compacts are not made in time of peace; if Switzerland be unwilling in peace time to enter into a treaty with Germany, she is free to refuse. But after wars the victor imposes a compulsory peace on the conquered. Here again we seek in vain for the external judge who can say with authority, "This treaty is compulsory."

It does not appear that there can be any limit of time implied in agreements under international law. Limits are imposed on the duration of certain legal liabilities under the ordinary law; for example, thefts might cease to be actionable after twenty years. But this is really a juristic makeshift. The framer of the law has authorized a legal fiction on practical grounds. It is not thought worth while to pursue a trifling offence after the lapse of a long period. But that cannot be done in international law. The lives of States last for centuries. One would have to wait for years for the expiry of the time-limits of nations. Frederick the Great had a perfect right to claim Silesia as part of his kingdom, though the treaties which secured it to his family were over two hundred years old.

Much progress has been effected of late years in the way of better drafting, and also of more

distinct ratification, of international treaties, as well as in lucidity of wording. As a rule, such treaties ought not to contain secret clauses. They merely obscure the true state of affairs; they bring it about that States which are unaware of them form false ideas of their mutual obligations, and thus they may easily prove dangerous to the very State which made them. Governments used to imagine that secret clauses would trip up other governments; obviously they are actually a double-edged weapon. There are, of course, exceptions even to this. In 1866, when Prussia made peace with the conquered States of Southern Germany, offensive and defensive alliance between them was concluded in a series of secret treaties. There was good reason for this. When France, a year later, revealed her leanings towards war, it was then publicly announced that North and South Germany would act together.

The sphere in which the principles of international relations can be most definitely laid down is that of private international law, the law which governs the behaviour of any State towards individual foreigners. It is a great step forward that, in any cultured State today, a foreign private person is sure of the protection of the law. It is a crime against the human race to urge the view that force alone governs international law today. That view is wholly untrue. Only—we must not expect the impossible. The difficulty of the question becomes apparent as soon as one looks

into its details. One then realizes that all obligations of private as of other international law are entered into and kept with a certain reservation, that, namely, they cannot be fulfilled when they entail grave hurt to the State which promised to carry them out. However many treaties we may conclude in the domain of private international law, it is always implied that we shall not keep them if a foreigner becomes obnoxious to us. A State must be able to expel inconvenient foreigners, without declaring its reasons, even though it has signed a treaty permitting foreigners to reside within its borders. Thus, modern States habitually expel persons suspected of being spies or secret agents; if explanations had to be published before active steps were taken in such cases, those explanations would be mostly of an exceedingly unpleasant kind, and would merely imperil the friendly relations of the States concerned. It is, therefore, more sensible to take the line that any alien can be expelled at any moment, with the simple comment: You are undesirable. And the right to act thus must be firmly maintained, if only in the interest of honest men, who might otherwise be molested; this proceeding, which appears cruel on the surface, proves in reality to be the truest humanity. On the other hand, States must not claim the right to expel their own subjects. That is to claim something which is essentially illegitimate. When Germany expelled the Jesuits, we were at least sure that they would

find a roof elsewhere. But if Germany were to expel its own common criminals, it would be simply blowing them into the air, for no other State would be willing to receive them.

Wherever international law relating to private individuals has begun to grow up, mutual undertakings are soon given between the various States to assist one another in the apprehension of criminals. Here we reach some of the hardest problems of international law. It is easy enough to assert generally that mankind as a whole is bound to pursue criminals. That is recognized by all noble nations and is easily embodied in their laws. But how are we to draw the line between what is criminal and what is not? To begin with, it is eminently necessary to distinguish political and common offenders. Every State must consider its own interests before it takes action against traitors against some other State. There may exist between two countries, nominally at peace, a latent state of war, as is now the case between France and Germany. In such a case it may well happen that the man who is a political offender against the laws of his own country is also very welcome to the other country; it would be silly if the latter were to be forced to hand him over to his own government. Treaties regulating the extradition of common malefactors are easily made; but no State will pledge itself to deliver up all political offenders without the option of using its own judgment in particular cases. Un-

derstandings, again, might be effected as to anarchists, pure and simple, who work with dynamite; but about political offenders, as a class, no general treaty can be drawn.

With respect to common criminals, the limits of extradition must, of course, be settled by special agreements. Such agreements must, of course, apply only to really grievous offences. The judicial codes of various lands vary so much that it is emphatically desirable that as many crimes as possible should be judged at home. Experience has here shown that the farther the jurisdiction of a nation is extended, the better the result.

All this general movement towards securing justice naturally tends to an ordered union between the States concerned, that is, to a political system in which the use of fixed forms of action is accepted even in international matters. The quarrels of seventeenth-century Europe on matters of ceremonial, which now strike us as so absurd, had a sound basis, despite the ridiculous forms which they assumed. They showed that the States of Europe had begun to regard themselves as members of one family. In a well-ordered household, everyone must have his fixed place, and his individual rights must be recognized and maintained. The difference between empires and small States, between great Powers and States of the second or third rank, still exists from a practical point of view, though no documents specifically

record it. A great Power may be defined as a State which could not, in the given circumstances, be destroyed by any one other Power, but only by a coalition. The preponderance of the great Powers in Europe has lately become very marked, and it is to this that we owe a certain security now observable in our international relations. The law affecting embassies had been so firmly established since the Congress of Aachen in 1818, that the clearest lines have been drawn in all civilized States between the different classes of diplomatists. Through the dominance of the leading European Powers, the practice—indeed the rule—has grown up that representation at a Congress of great Powers is granted only to those among the lesser States which are directly concerned in the subject to be discussed. But when once a small State has been invited to the Congress, its voice carries as much weight as that of any other State, large or small. These Congresses are governed, not by a vote of the majority, but by the *liberum veto* of natural law. A meeting which is held, not to conduct a war but to formulate its results, cannot reasonably be bound by majority votes; it must obtain unanimity.

It appears impossible to set up any general principle governing international behaviour. The doctrine that you may always intervene in the affairs of another State is as false as the doctrine that you may never do so. A State may find itself driven *to regard* the party struggles in a neigh-

bouring country as harmful to its own peace. Were a cosmopolitan party to seize the reins in a State which bordered with Germany, the issue might look so threatening to us that we should have no option but to interfere. To interfere, however, involves considerable risk. The modern world has come to believe firmly in the doctrine of national independence, and intervention will always arouse resentment, and that not only in the country which suffers the intervention. Hard experience has taught this generation to be shy of mixing in the internal affairs of its neighbours. But when a State's existence seems to itself to be in peril, it both may and will intervene.

IN TIME OF WAR.

The acceptance by States of common rules for mutual relations, even in an age when physical force tears up treaties, shows that a law governs their conduct, but a defective and immature law. A state of war is usually preceded by a hostile peace. Vain efforts at mutual understanding lead, in the first instance, to one of the States passing laws detrimental to the other. That is legal enough, if it is not fair, and the other State will straightway retaliate by a similar lack of consideration for its neighbour. If one of the States trespass on an actual treaty right, the sufferer replies by equally conscious illegalities. Preludes of these kinds lead finally to real war. As soon as hostili-

ties have actually begun, all treaties between the two States come, legally, to an end. A formal declaration of war is no longer needful in these days of railways and telegraphs. Mobilizations of troops and discussions in cabinets and parliaments give clear warning that the State intends to open hostilities; the declaration is an empty form. In the war of 1870, France did not send us any declaration of war till a week after diplomatic relations had been broken off.

After the outbreak of war, the primary object seems to be to bring about new international conditions which shall correspond to the real strength of the warring States, and which they must recognize. It is then legitimate to carry on the war in the most drastic manner; the ultimate aim—peace—will thus be attained as speedily as possible. First, therefore, pierce the enemy to the heart. The very sharpest weapons may be used, provided that they do not inflict on the wounded needless torments. Philanthropists may declaim about burning shells which fall into the powder magazines of wooden warships; that is all beside the point. The States themselves must settle what weapons shall not be used; at the request of Russia it has been agreed not to use explosive bullets for rifles. A warring nation is wholly justified in taking every advantage of every weakness in its opponent. If its enemy is disturbed by internal revolts and conspiracies, it may make full use of them; in 1866, it was only the swift

march of events that prevented us Prussians from entering into agreements with the Hungarians against their Austrian masters.

A warring nation may call to its fighting line the whole of its troops—whether barbarian or civilized. On this point we must keep an open mind and avoid prejudice against any particular nation. There were howls in Germany during the Franco-Prussian war because the French set the Turcos to fight a highly civilized European people. The passions of war readily breed such protests, but science must take a dispassionate view and declare that action such as that of the French was not contrary to international law. A belligerent State both may and ought to bring into the field all its physical resources, that is, all its troops of every kind. For where can a line be drawn? Which of all its charming subject-races should Russia, for example, rule out of court? The entire physical resources of the State can, and must, be used in war. But they must only be used when they have been embodied in those chivalrous forms of organization which have been gradually established during a long series of wars. The use of the Turcos by the French put a curious complexion on their claim to march at the head of civilization. Indeed, many of the complaints made in this respect arise from the fact that people demand from a nation more than it is able to fulfil. We all know that in modern national warfare every gallant subject is a spy. The expul-

sion of the 80,000 Germans from France at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870 was, therefore, in accordance with international law; the one point to which we can object in the whole proceeding is, that the French displayed a certain brutality in dealing with these Germans.

The degree of humanity to be observed in warfare is affected by the doctrine that a war can only be waged between two States, and not between individual members of those States. This doctrine regulates all warfare in theory, though in practice only that on land. It should be possible to recognize, by a distinguishing mark, all men whom the State authorizes to wage war for it, and who must, therefore, be treated as soldiers. We are not, as yet, all agreed on this point, and this failure to agree constitutes a grievous gap in international law. Humanity in war is entirely dependent on the question as to whether the soldier feels that his only opponent is the enemy's soldier, and that he need not fear an attack behind a bush from every peasant, with whom he has had peaceful dealings half an hour earlier. If the soldier, journeying through a hostile country, does not know whom to regard as soldier, and whom to look upon as robber and highwayman, he is driven to show himself cruel and heartless. No one can be regarded as a soldier unless he has taken the military oath, unless he is subject to military law, and unless he wears some distinctive token, even if it be not (strictly speaking) a com-

plete uniform. It is a self-evident fact that bands of unauthorized volunteers must expect to meet with harsh and ruthless treatment. It is imperative that we should come to some sort of international agreement as to the tokens whereby one may know an armed man to be an actual member of an authorized army. This point was discussed at Brussels, in 1874, and there the conflicting interests of the different parties were thrown into high relief. Little States, like Switzerland, were in no way anxious to bind themselves on such a question.

Each State is, at present, its own judge in the matter, and must itself determine which of its enemies it proposes to treat as units of an army, and which as simple robbers. Regarded from a moral point of view, a real respect is due to the action of many *franc-tireurs* in 1870 and 1871, whom despair drove to try to save their country. But in the light of international law, they were mere highwaymen. In the same way, Napoleon was right in 1809 to treat Schill and his associates as robbers. Schill, a Prussian staff officer, himself deserted, and induced his men to desert, and then began to wage war against France. He was then, according to international law, nothing more than a robber chief. The King's anger at this proceeding knew no bounds. What was there left to hold the State together, if every staff officer chose to form a little army of his own? But, in spite of these facts, Napoleon's resolve to adhere to

the letter of the law in this affair was an act of unparalleled cruelty, and also an act of great imprudence. Everyone with noble instincts will side with Schill. Schenkendorf felt this when he represented Schill as saying:

"My King himself will say to me,
'Rest thou in peace, my faithful Schill.'"

It would, however, be impossible to maintain that the enemy's action was any infringement of international law.

When it has once been determined who belongs to the army, and who is entitled to the chivalrous treatment due to a prisoner of war, private property belonging to an enemy may be very generally spared. But in this matter, also, it must be clearly understood that we must not, in the name of humanity, outrage the sense of honour of a nation. At the Congress held at Brussels, the Prussians proposed an international agreement that in a conquered province the civil government should pass *ipso jure* into the hands of the military authorities of the victorious army. Such an arrangement would, in many ways, prove beneficial to material well-being. A general who knows that he is entitled, by international law, to demand obedience from foreign authorities, will be able to keep a more decided check on his troops, and to behave generally in a more humane manner. But there *are possessions* which stand on a higher

level than trade and traffic. This German demand expressed all the confidence of a people accustomed to victory. But could we seriously wish that Prussian State authorities should, by law, be compelled to obey a Russian general? Excessive humanity can lead to dishonour, and thus become inhuman. We expect our countrymen to use all lawful means to defeat the enemy. Think for a moment of our own past experiences. Every East-Prussian knows about President Dohna, who during the Russian occupation carried off the receipts and taxes to the lawful king, and did his best to work against the enemy. Shall that be forbidden in the name of philanthropy? Is not patriotism, in this case, a higher duty? It matters little whether a Russian, embittered by this kind of resistance on the part of good and honest Prussians, burns a few more villages than he at first purposed. This is a consideration of far less importance than that a nation should keep the shield of its honour bright. The moral possessions of a nation ought not to be destroyed, in the name of humanity, by international law.

Even when the power of an enemy is purely military, it is still possible to give the utmost protection to private property, provided that the members of the hostile army are easily recognizable. Requisitions are allowed; it is a general practice to give promissory notes in exchange. The task of getting them all paid is, of course, left to the conquered. War against private property as such,

of which the laying waste of the Palatinate at the end of the seventeenth century, by Melac, furnishes us with a dreadful example, the wanton burning of villages, is regarded today by all civilized States as an infringement of the law of nations. Private property may only be injured in so far as such injury is absolutely essential to the success of the war.

But international law becomes mere claptrap when these principles are applied to barbarian nations. A negro tribe must be punished by having its villages burnt; nothing will be achieved without an example of this kind. Any failure on the part of the German Empire to base its conduct on these principles, today, could not be said to proceed from humanity or a fine sense of justice, but merely from scandalous weakness.[1]

And even where dealing with civilized nations, it is right to legalize only those practices which are the real outcome of the general sense of obligation, common to all the nations concerned. The State must not be used as an instrument wherewith to try experiments in humanitarianism. How drastic an example of such an error is furnished by the Franco-Prussian War! We declared, in a burst of false humanity, that we would respect the private property of the French at sea. The idea was both noble and humane. We failed, however, to observe that among the other States there is one—I mean England—which is fundamentally averse to being

[1] *Lecture delivered during the winter of 1891–2.*

schooled by noble thoughts; we also failed to realize that France would not pay us back in our own coin. This one-sided German humanitarianism simply released France from the necessity of using her navy to protect her merchant ships against German men-of-war. Her whole fleet was thus set free for the immediate purposes of war. The marine infantry and the really excellent marine artillery were landed, and during the winter we very frequently found ourselves fighting with these marines. It will thus be seen that the undertaking entered upon by us merely released troops to be used against ourselves. Every advance in humanitarianism, as expressed in international law should, therefore, be based on the principle of reciprocity.

But there are many items about which we are in doubt whether they are the property of the State or of private persons. The property of the State is, obviously and naturally, the lawful booty of the victor. This is primarily true of all kinds of military supplies, in the widest sense of the word, and of such things as State railways. But to which class must we relegate the rolling stock of the private railway companies, to which the State has granted an actual monopoly? The enemy may, of course, use the railway plant belonging to these companies during the war; but may he keep the carriages and trucks? Our decision to do so during the last war was a perfectly just one, in view of the nature of the French rail-

ways. They were, in actual fact, the property of the State, and we kept the carriages which we took, and sold them back to France when terms of peace were arranged. The question is an even more difficult one when it relates to banks. There are certain banks, among them the Bank of Germany, in which a body of bankers outside the country have a material interest. Such a practice is very useful from a commercial point of view; the bank is thus kept in touch with the great business houses, and in a position to take its part in the commercial activities of the moment. It would be, however, a pure illusion to suppose that the Bank of Germany would thereby be saved from confiscation by a conqueror. An enemy would certainly look upon it as a State bank, and the fact that a few private persons had an interest in it would in no way affect his decision.

It has also become a principle of international law that the great treasures of civilization, which serve the purposes of Art and Science, and are looked upon as the property of humanity as a whole, shall be secured against theft and pillage. In earlier times this principle was trampled under foot.

Individual members of the standing armies, and all persons authorized to take part in national defence, have a right to demand honourable treatment as prisoners of war, and all attempts to force prisoners into the enemy's army are contrary to international law. It is, however, doubtful

whether this principle obtained during the last century. In matters such as these, everything depends on the sense of right and wrong which animates the age. At the beginning of the last century, the mercenary idea was still so grossly prevalent that a French regiment, consisting of course of Germans, was taken over by the Saxons at Hōchstādt, only to be lost by them at a later date, when it went over to the Swedes. At Stralsund, it went over to the Prussians, with whom it finally remained, under the name of "Jung Anhalt." But when Frederick the Great forced the captured Saxons into the Prussian army, at Piena, it became evident that a practice which had once been followed as a matter of course, had now become impossible. On that occasion, the Saxons deserted from the Prussian army in hordes. Nowadays, an attempt of this kind would be not only a palpable infringement of international law, but also an unparalleled piece of stupidity.

It goes without saying that every State has not only the right to wage war, but also to declare itself neutral in the wars of others as far as material conditions permit. If a State is not in a condition to maintain its neutrality, all talk about the same is mere claptrap. Neutrality needs as much defending as the partisanship of belligerent States. It is the duty of a neutral State to disarm every soldier who crosses its borders. If it is unable to do so, the circumstances justify the belligerent States in ceasing to observe its neutrality,

even if it has allowed an armed enemy to enter but one village.

It is to be regretted that a sharp distinction is still drawn in military law between its workings on land and its workings at sea. All who have eyes to see must here be struck by the disastrous influence of English naval power on universal culture and justice. We have not as yet obtained a "balance of power" at sea, and Schiller's melancholy dictum, therefore, still holds good:

> "Among the waves is chaos
> And nothing can be held upon the sea."

Such a state of things is deeply humiliating to our pride as a civilized nation. England is alone to blame, for England is so immensely pre-eminent at sea that she can do whatever she likes. All who desire to be humane, all who thirst to realize in some degree the ideals of international law on the high seas, must work for a balance of power in this direction also. One is constantly surprised by the infatuation of public opinion at the present day. Countries marching on the wrong road are always glorified, and the sentimentality of Belgian exponents of international law, and England's barbarous views regarding maritime law, are perpetually admired. All the other Powers would be prepared and allow free circulation, under certain conditions, to merchant ships in time of war; England, alone, maintains the principle that

no distinction is to be made at sea between the property of the State and that of private persons. And as long as this one Power insists on carrying out this principle, all other nations must travel on the same barbarous road. It is true that the conditions prevalent on land can never prevail in quite the same way at sea, because there are many articles of commerce which are used in warfare. The immunity of private property at sea in time of war can, therefore, never be quite as great as that assured to private property on land; but this is no reason why naval warfare should for ever continue to be piracy, or why the belligerent Powers should be entitled to snatch indiscriminately the property of each other's merchants.

Maritime law has hitherto only progressed through the efforts of the navies of second-class Powers. One is confronted at every moment with the dictum that the Powers are driven to adopt humaner methods by their desire to serve their own purposes. Herein, also, lies the explanation of the efforts made by the second-class navies to obtain a humaner maritime law. It is not that the English are worse people than we are, and if we were in their position we might, perhaps, imitate their conduct. As early as 1780 the navies of the second rank united themselves in an alliance for armed neutrality, and laid down the principle, firstly, that the flag must protect the merchandise over which it floats, and that articles of commerce having no definite connection with war shall be

allowed free passage on a neutral ship; and, secondly, that every blockade must be an actual one, and that no Power has the right to declare an entire line of coast blockaded unless the approaches to it are actually closed by the presence of hostile men-of-war.

Attempts were subsequently made in innumerable treaties to express these principles in law. To-day, England has at last agreed to allow that the flag covers the merchandise. This concession is the outcome of the development of North American naval power. If the question had been one for Germany to decide, she would long ago have procured some international agreement on the immunity of private property at sea. Theory, alone is, however, powerless in questions of international law, if the actual power of the States concerned does not in some measure correspond with it.

To conclude then, the conviction grows upon us that it can never be the task of political science to build up for itself phantastic structure in the air; for only that is truly human which has its roots in the historical facts of actual life. The destinies of nations are worked out by means of a series of repulsions and attractions, and they follow the law of a principle of development whose ultimate end is veiled from mortal eyes. Its very trend is hidden from us except at rare moments. We must seek to understand the ways in which divine intelligence has gradually revealed itself in the midst

of all the conflicting movements of life; we must not seek to dominate history. The noblest quality of the practical statesman is his ability to point to the signs of the times, and to realize in some measure how universal history may develop at a given moment. Further, nothing becomes a politician better than modesty. The circumstances with which he is called upon to deal, are so various and so complicated, that he must guard against being carried away on dark and uncertain ways. He must resign himself to desiring only the really attainable, and to keeping his aim perpetually and steadfastly in view. I shall be content if you have learned during the course of these lectures how manifold are the component parts which go to make up a historical fact, and how it becomes us, therefore, to be most deliberate in giving a verdict in political matters. I shall, indeed, be satisfied if these lectures have taught you to cultivate that modesty which is the essential outcome of true learning.

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT GERMAN COLONIZATION.

THE strange confusion of ideas which we owe to our fluctuating and antiquated party-doings is nowhere so glaringly obvious as in the widely spread opinion that the younger generation today is more conservatively inclined than the older. Some are glad of this, while others lament it and attribute it to the seductive arts of reactionary teachers; but hardly anyone disputes it as a fact. And yet it is absolutely absurd to think so, for ever since the beginning of the world the young have always been more free-thinking than the old, because they possess the happy privilege of living more in the future than the present, and nothing justifies the assumption that this natural law has ceased to hold good nowadays. For though the new generation may turn away with indifference from the catch-words of the older liberalism, this only shows that a new age with new ideals is dawning. In these young men, whose childhood was illuminated by the sun of Sedan, national pride is not a feeling attained to, as in their fathers' case, by hard struggles, but it is a strong spontaneous passion. They sing their "Germany, Germany above all!" with a joyful confidence, such as only

isolated strong characters of the older generation could cherish. They regard the struggle for parliamentary rights, which to their elders was often an aim in itself, at most as a means to an end. The object of their ambition is that the young giant who has just shaken the sleep from his eyelids should now use his strong arms to advance the civilization of mankind and to make the German name both formidable and precious to the world. Therefore our German youth were thrilled as by an electric shock when, in August, 1884, the news came that our flag waved upon the coast of Angra Pequena and the Cameroons, and that Germany had taken the first modest but decided step in the path of independent colonization.

To the ancient political system of Europe, which was a result of the weakness of its central States, a new combination of States has succeeded, founded on the strength of Central Europe. By means of a pacific policy on a large scale, our Government has obliged the other continental Powers to adapt themselves to the new order of things, while our legislation at the same time labours to quell the social unrest which threatens the foundations of all civilization. Thus before our eyes is being fulfilled the prophecy of the Crown Prince Frederick, that his country would be one day so strong as to guard peace by righteous dealing, not by inspiring fear; and it is only one more necessary step in the path of this pacific policy if Germany at last sets herself to take her proper share in the

great work of expansive civilization. Like so many other happy forecasts of the sixteenth century which have been first fulfilled in our days, the proud expression "il mondo e poco," which in the days of Columbus sounded like an empty boast, is now being verified. Now that we can sail round the world in eleven weeks, it is really small, and its political future is discernible to the foreseeing eye.

With full confidence we may say to-day that the democracies of the European nations and their descendants will one day govern the whole world. China and Japan may possibly still for centuries preserve their old peculiar forms of civilization, together with a strong blending of European culture; in India—though this is by no means certain —an independent Indian nationality may be evolved from the intermingling of countless races and religions; finally—which is still more improbable—the old bellicose Islam, when it has been driven out of Europe, may form a new powerful State in Asia Minor; but with the exception of these countries, in the whole world no other nation is to be found that can in the long run withstand the immense superiority of European arms and commerce. The barrier is broken, and the stream of European colonization must pour unceasingly over all the world, far and near, and those who live in the twentieth century will be able for the first time in all seriousness to speak of a "world-history." We must at the same time remember

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emigration of their superfluous populations, and the fulfilment of their new tasks of civilization. When the first Spanish explorers landed in America they bathed eagerly in every spring, because they hoped there, in the West, to find the legendary Fountain of Youth. The time seems approaching when that longing of the early discoverers will find its fulfilment, and the New World will prove a "Fountain of Youth" for Europeans in a deeper sense than they once thought. Through the colonization of the distant regions of the earth, the history of Europe also acquires a newer, richer significance, and Germany, with full right, demands that she should not be left behind in this great rivalry of nations. She feels not only mortified in her political ambition when she considers her position in the transatlantic world; but she feels also a kind of moral shamefacedness when obliged to confess that we Germans have only contributed a very little to the great cosmopolitan works of modern international intercourse. The founding of the International Postal Union and the part we took in the building of the St. Gothard Railway—these are almost our only services in this sphere, and how they shrink into insignificance when compared with the achievements of English colonial policy, or even with the works of the Frenchman, Ferdinand Lesseps.

This feeling of shame is all the more oppressive because we can assert that Germany yields to no nation in its capacity for founding colonies. In

the countries on the right of the Elbe, our nation once carried out the greatest and most fruitful schemes of colonization which Europe has seen since the days of the Roman Empire; for here it succeeded in obliterating the usual distinction between colony and motherland so completely, that these colonized lands formed the nucleus of our new system of States, and since Luther's time were able to take part in the intellectual progress of the nation, as equal allies of the older stock. For more than two hundred years, Germany, solely by the power of its free citizens, held supremacy over the northern seas. By means of her commercial colonies, the slumbering capacities of Scandinavia for intercourse with other nations were awakened, and certainly it was not due to our fathers' fault, but to an unavoidable tragic fate, that the glory of the Hanseatic League perished. This was at the same time that the Italians, our old companions in misfortune, lost command of the sea in the south. For to every age and every nation a limit of power is assigned. It was impossible that the two nations which through the Renaissance and the Reformation had opened up the way for modern civilization, should, at the very time, when the discovery of the New World had ruined all the usual routes of commerce, be able to rival the Spaniards and Portuguese in their foreign conquests.

It was not till later that the Germans incurred the guilt of a grievous sin of omission, in the long,

dreary time of peace which followed the Schmalkaldic War. Then it was that the German Protestants had a safe prospect of recovering the last command of the sea, if they had united with their kindred co-religionsists in the Netherlands. But at this most discreditable period of our modern history, the two national faults, which still now so often hamper our economic energy, doctrinaire idealism and easy-going self-indulgence, were strongly flourishing. The nation degenerated through theological controversies and the coarse sensuality of a sluggish peace. She left it to the Dutch to break the naval power of the Spaniards, and afterwards to the English to subdue the Dutch conquerors. Everyone knows how terribly the sins of those years of peace were punished by the dire ruin of our ancient civilization. During the two centuries of struggle which followed, when we had painfully to recover the rule in our own country, every attempt at German colonization was naturally impossible. The ingenious African schemes of the Great Elector were far in advance of their time; they were doomed to failure; a feudal agricultural country without a sea-board could not possibly maintain control over a remote colonial possession for any length of time.

But even during this long period of inland quietude, our nation has shown that she is, according to her capacity and position in the world, the most cosmopolitan of all peoples; she lost neither the old impulse to seek the distant, nor the power

to assert herself valiantly among foreign nations. On all the battle-fields of the world German blood flowed in streams; most of the crowns of Europe fell into the hands of German royal houses; and it was really through the power of Germany that Russia was enrolled among the nations of Europe. It is true that this vast expenditure of overflowing national forces only ratified anew the lament of Goethe that the Germans were respectable as individuals, but despicable as a whole. Again and again the voice of Fate called to us "sic vos non vobis." And when in recent times the peoples of the Anglo-Saxon stock began to divide the transatlantic world between them, the Germans were again their unwearied associates. German traders rivalled the leading firms of the world from Singapore to Philadelphia. Millions of Germans helped the North Americans to conquer their part of the world for civilization.

But the Germans at home, had, so long as the Federal Diet ruled over them, too heavy domestic cares to think seriously about the lot of their emigrants. They made a virtue of necessity, and in their philosophic way evolved the doctrine that it was the historic destiny of the German spirit to blend far out there in the West with the genius of other nations. It is true that the Americans found a less obscure description for this mysterious "blending," though they now vainly seek to disavow it; they said, "The Germans form an excellent fertilizer for our people!" When, just

twenty years ago—though I had then no anticipation of the near fulfilment of German destinies, I ventured, in my treatise, *Federal State and Unified State*, to make the heretical remark that only those States which possessed naval power and ruled territories across the sea could rank in future as great Powers, I was severely taken to task by various critics. With the immeasurable superiority, which, as is well-known, the judge possesses over the culprit, they told me that these were old-fashioned ideas, and that since the times of the American War of Independence and the founding of the Spanish colonies, the period of colonization has come to an end. Such was the general opinion in Germany in the days of the Federal Diet. Meanwhile, England, not troubling herself about the wisdom of our philosophical historians, continued to extend her colonial empire over half the world.

Since then, how strangely public sentiment has changed! We now look out into the world with other claims than formerly. Especially is this the case with those Germans who live abroad, who have a far livelier appreciation of the blessings of the new empire than we at home. The uneasy ferment of the last five years, although accompanied by the disintegration of ancient parties and an abundance of wild animosity and ungrateful fault-finding, has also given rise to some wholesome self-criticism; we have had our attention drawn to our weaknesses, and begin to perceive in how many

respects we come short of worthily occupying the position of a great nation. During these last years, without any pressure from authority, there has risen from the people themselves a spontaneous demand for German colonies with as much emphasis and confidence in the future as formerly accompanied the demand for a German fleet. Since F. Fabri first discussed the subject, a whole literature on the colonial question has come into existence. In the course of these discussions, the Germans discovered, with joyful surprise, that, outside official circles, we possessed a considerable number of practical political writers, which can console us for the increasing dreariness and impoverishment of our parliamentary life. By the persistent endeavours of our brave travellers, missionaries, and merchants, the first attempt at German colonization has had the way prepared for it, and been rendered possible. Germany's modest gains on the African coast only aroused attention in the world at large, because everyone knew that they were not due, as in the case of the colonizing experiments of the Electorate of Brandenburg, to the bold idea of a great mind, but because a whole nation greeted them with a joyful cry, "At last! At last!"

For a nation that suffers from continual overproduction, and sends yearly 200,000 of her children abroad, the question of colonization is vital. During the first years which followed the restoration of the German Empire, well-meaning people

began to hope that the constant draining away of German forces into foreign countries would gradually cease, together with the political persecutions, the discontent, and the petty domestic coercive laws of the good old times. This hope was disappointed, and was doomed to be so, for those political grievances were not the only, nor even the most important causes of German emigration. In the short time since the establishment of the empire, the population has increased by a full eighth, and this rapid growth, in spite of all the misery which it involves, is nevertheless the characteristic of a healthy national life, which, in its careless consciousness of power, does not trouble itself with the warnings of the "two-child system." It is true that Germany is as yet by no means over-populated, least of all in those north-eastern districts from which the stream of emigration flows most strongly. Many of our emigrants, if they exercised here the same untiring diligence which inexorable necessity enforces on them in America, could also prosper in their old fatherland. But there are periods of domiciliation, and again periods in which the impulse to wander works like a dark, elementary power on the national spirit. Just as the song "Eastwards! Eastwards! "once rang seductively through the villages of Flanders, so countless numbers dream now of the land of marvels across the sea. And just as little as prudential counsel could restrain the crusaders from their sacred enterprise, so little can considerations

of reason prevail against the vague longing for the West. It is also easy to calculate that our population, provided its growth continues as before, must, in no distant future, rise to a hundred millions and more; then their fatherland would be too narrow for the Germans, even if Prussia resumed the colonization of its eastern borderlands in the old Frederician style, and found room in the estates there for thousands of peasants and long-lease tenants. According to all appearance, German emigration will still for a long while remain an unavoidable necessity, and it becomes a new duty for the motherland to take care that her wandering children remain true to their nationality, and open new channels for her commerce. This is in the first place more important than our political control of the lands we colonize. A State, whose frontiers march with those of three great Powers, and whose seaboard lies open towards a fourth, will generally only be able to carry on great national wars and must keep its chief military forces carefully collected in Europe. The protection of a remote, easily threatened colonial empire would involve it in embarrassments and not strengthen it.

And just now, after our good nature has striven all too long not to be forced into the humiliating confession, we are at last obliged to admit that the German emigrants in North America are completely lost to our State, and our nationality. Set in the midst of a certainly less intellectual but

commercially more energetic people, the nationality of the German minority must inevitably be suppressed by that of the majority, just as formerly the French refugees were absorbed in Germany. And as the expulsion of the Huguenots was for France a huge misfortune, the effects of which are still operative, so the German emigration to North America is an absolute loss for our nation—a present given to a foreign country without any equivalent compensation.

Moreover, for the general cause of civilization, the Anglicizing of the German-Americans is a heavy loss. Even the Frenchman, Leroy-Beaulieu, confesses this with praiseworthy impartiality. among Germans, there can be no question at all but that human civilization suffers loss every time that a German is turned into a Yankee. All the touching proofs of faithful recollection which the motherland has received from the German-Americans since the year 1870, does not alter the fact that all German emigrants, at latest in the third generation, become Americans. Although in certain districts of Pennsylvania, a corrupt German dialect may survive side by side with English, although some cultured families may now, when German national consciousness is everywhere stronger, perhaps be able to postpone being completely Anglicized till the fourth generation, yet the political views of the emigrants are inevitably coloured by the ideas prevalent in their new home; in commerce, they even become our

enemies, and, voluntarily or involuntarily, help to injure German agriculture by a depressing rivalry. The overpowering force of their new circumstances compels them to divest themselves of their nationality, until perhaps at last nothing is left them but a platonic regard for German literature.

Therefore it is quite justifiable on the ground of national self-preservation that the new German Colonial Union should seek for ways and means to divert the stream of German emigrants into lands where they run no danger of losing their nationality. Such a territory has been already found in the south of Brazil. There, unassisted and sometimes not even suspected by the motherland, German nationality remains quite intact for three generations, and our rapidly increasing export trade with Porto Allegre shows that the commerce of the old home profits greatly by the loyalty of her emigrant children. Other such territories will also be discovered if our nation enters with prudence and boldness on the new era now opening to the colonizing energy of Europeans.

With the crossing of Africa begins the last epoch of great discoveries. When once the centre of the Dark Continent lies open, the whole globe, with the exception of a few regions which will be always inaccessible to civilization, is also opened before European eyes. The common interest of all nations—with the exception of England—demands that these new acquisitions of modern times should

be dealt with in a more liberal, just, and humane way than the former ones which only profited the nations of the Iberian peninsula, in order finally to ruin them. The summoning of the Congo conference and our understanding with France show that our Government knows how to estimate properly the importance of this crisis. As a sea-power of the second rank, Germany is in colonial politics the natural representative of a humane law of nations, and since England, now fully occupied with Egyptian affairs, will hardly oppose the united will of all the other Powers, there is ground for hope that the conference will have a happy issue and open the interior of Africa to the free rivalry of all nations. Then it will be our turn to show what we can do; in those remote regions the power of the State can only follow the free action of the nation and not precede it. In this new world it must be seen whether the trivial pedantry of an unfortunate past, after just now celebrating its orgies in the struggle of the Hansa towns against the national Customs Union, has at last been overcome for ever, and whether the German trader has enough self-confidence to venture on rivalry with the predominant financial strength of England.

The future will show whether the founding of German agricultural colonies is possible in the interior of Africa; there will certainly be an opportunity for founding mercantile colonies which will yield a rich return. After destiny has treated us

badly for so many centuries, we may well count for once on the favour of fortune. In South Africa also circumstances are decidedly favourable for us. English colonial policy, which has been successful everywhere else, has not been fortunate at the Cape. The civilization which flourishes there is Teutonic and Dutch. The attitude of England wavering between weakness and violence, has evoked among the brave Dutch Boers a deadly ineradicable hatred. Moreover since the Dutch have in the Indo-Chinese islands abundant scope for their colonizing energy, it would only be a natural turn of events, if their German kindred should hereafter in some form or other, undertake the protectorate of the Teutonic population of South Africa, and succeed as heirs of the English in a neglected colony which since the opening of the Suez Canal has little more value for England.

If our nation dares decidedly to follow the new path of an independent colonial policy, it will inevitably become involved in a conflict of interests with England. It lies in the nature of things that the new great Power of central Europe must come to an understanding with all the other great Powers. We have already made our reckoning with Austria, with France, and with Russia; our last reckoning, that with England, will probably be the most tedious and the most difficult; for here we are confronted by a line of policy which for centuries, almost unhindered by the other Powers, aims directly at maritime supremacy.

How long has Germany in all seriousness believed this insular race, which among all the nations of Europe is undoubtedly imbued with the most marked national selfishness, whose greatness consists precisely in its hard inaccessible one-sidedness, to be the magnanimous protector of the freedom of all nations! Now at last our eyes begin to be opened, and we recognize, what clear-headed political thinkers have never doubted, that England's State policy, since the days of William III., has never been anything else than a remarkably shrewd and remarkably conscienceless commercial policy. The extraordinary successes of this State-policy have been purchased at a high price, consisting in the first place of a number of sins and enormities. The history of the English East India Company is the most defiled page in the annals of the modern European nations, for the shocking vampirism of this merchant-rule sprang solely from greed; it cannot be excused, as perhaps the acts of Philip II. or Robespierre may be, by the fanaticism of a political conviction.

A still more serious factor in the situation is, that owing to her transatlantic successes England has lost her position as a European Great Power; in negotiations on the continent her voice counts no longer, and all the great changes which have recently occurred in Central Europe took place without England's participation, though for the most part accompanied by impotent cries of rage from the London press. The worst consequence,

however, of British commercial policy is the immense and well-justified hatred which all nations have gradually been conceiving towards England. From the point of view of international law England is to day the place where barbarism reigns; it is England's fault alone that naval war is to day only an organized piracy, and a humane maritime international law cannot be established in the world till a balance of power exists at sea as it long has on land, and no State can dare any longer to permit itself everything. English politicians were never at a loss for philanthropic phrases with which to cloak their commercial calculations; at one time they alleged the necessity of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, at another the abolition of slavery, at another constitutional freedom; and yet their national policy, like every policy which aims at the unreasonable goal of world supremacy always reckoned, as its foundation principle, on the misfortunes of all other nations.

England's commercial supremacy had its origin in the discords on the continent, and owing to her brilliant successes, which were often gained without a struggle, there has grown up in the English people a spirit of arrogance, for which "Chauvinism" is too mild an expression. Sir Charles Dilke, the well-known Radical member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, in his book, *Greater Britain*, which is often mentioned, but, alas, too little read here, claims as necessary acquisitions for "Greater

Britain," China, Japan, Chili, Peru, the La Plata States, the tablelands of Africa—in short, the whole world. In spite of the outrageous ill-usage of Ireland, and the bestial coarseness of the London mob, he calls Great Britain the land which from the earliest time exhibits the greatest amount of culture and insight, together with the least intermixture of ignorance and crime. He looks confidently forward to the time when Russia and France will only be pigmies by the side of England. In only three passages does he deign to make a cursory mention of the Germans. One of them is when he asks indignantly whether we really wish to be so selfish as to decline to support with German money the Euphrates Railway which is indispensable to Greater Britain? Thus, then, the manifold glories of the world's history, which commenced with the empire of the monosyllabic Chinese, are to conclude their melancholy cycle with the empire of the monosyllabic British!

In opposition to such claims—and the impetuous politician only gives incautious utterance to what all England thinks—all the nations of Europe are united together by a common interest. Since the growing industries of the Continent have outgrown the possibility of being exploited by England, and the mutual understanding of the three Emperors has ensured peace on the Continent, and even France has begun to accustom herself to the new and more sustainable balance of power, the foundations of English maritime supremacy

have begun to be shaken. It is neither necessary nor probable that the further development of these tendencies should lead to a European war; Holland, for example, lost her commercial supremacy not through war, but through the tender embraces of her English ally. The Power which is strongest on land cannot cherish the wish to attain maritime supremacy also. German policy is national and cosmopolitan at the same time; it counts, otherwise than British policy does, on the peaceful prosperity of her neighbours. We can rejoice without reserve at each advance of the Russians in Central Asia, and each French success in Tonking. Our ambition only reaches thus far, that in the still uncolonized quarters of the earth, wind and sun should be fairly divided between the civilized nations. If the Congo Conference succeeds in checking the high-handed arbitrariness of England in Central Africa, the first united repulse of English encroachments will not be the last, since, outside Europe, there is no need for the interests of the continental Powers to collide. The great German seaport towns, at present imbued with a half-mutinous spirit toward the Government, have the prospect of a new period of revival; it is from the Hansa towns that the bold pioneers of our nation in Africa come. What Schiller at the commencement of the nineteenth century wrote about the greedy polyp-like arms of England is not out of date to day; but we hope that when the twentieth century dawns the trans-

atlantic world will have already learned that the Germans to day no longer, as in Schiller's day, escape from the stress of life into the still and holy places of the heart.

TWO EMPERORS.

15th June, 1888.

FOR the second time within a hundred days the nation stands at the bier of its Emperor. After the most fortunate of all her rulers, she laments the most unfortunate. It seems as if in the course of the history of our Emperors, not only imperial splendour was to have a new birth but the tremendous tragic vicissitudes of fate were also to be renewed. It was in very truth under the guidance of God as he so often said in simple humanity, that the Emperor William I reached the pinnacle of universal fame, against all human calculation and reckoning, and far beyond his own hope. In his steady ascent, however, he proved fully competent to each new and greater task, till, arrived at the last limit of life, he ended his days in a halo of glory. In death also he was the effective uniter of the Germans, who, to the accompaniment of the cannon-thunder of his battles, had, for the first time after centuries, known the happiness of joy at complete victories, and now gathered round his funeral vault in the unanimity of hallowed grief. During the years when the character of a growing man usually

takes its decisive bent, Prince Wilhelm could only cherish the ambition, some day as his father's or brother's Commander-in-Chief, to lead the armies of Prussia to new victories. Himself almost the youngest among the champions of the War of Liberation, he shared with Gneisenau, with Clausewitz, and all the political thinkers of the Prussian Army the conviction that Germany's new western frontier was as untenable as its loose confederation of States, and that only a third Punic War could finally decide the old struggle for power between Gauls and Germans, and secure the independence of the German State. All through the quiet period of peace he held fast by this hope. As early as the year 1840 he copied out in his own handwriting Becker's song, "Our Rhine, free German river, they ne'er shall take away," and finished the last words, "Till the last brave German warrior beneath its stream is laid," with that bold flourish of the pen which afterwards in the Emperor's signature became familiar to the whole world. Hatred to the French was entirely absent from his generous disposition, but more sagacious than all the Prussian statesmen with the possible exception of Motz, he early grasped the European situation as it regarded Prussia and recognized that the latter must grow in order to escape the intolerable pressure of so many superior military Powers. Thoroughly imbued with such thoughts, and being every inch a soldier, he became in a few years the favourite and the ideal of the Army,

beloved for his friendly courtesy, and feared for an official severity, which showed even the lowest camp-follower that a careful and judicial eye was watching him. He looked upon his people in arms and their awakened intelligence with the undiminished enthusiasm of the War of Liberation, but also with the more sober resolve to develop singly the ideas of Scharnhorst and adapt them to the changed times, so that this Army might always remain the foremost. Outside, in the smaller States, what was here undertaken in deep political seriousness, was regarded as idle parade display. The leaders of public opinion indulged in radical dreams, expressed enthusiastic admiration for Poles and Frenchmen and hoped for perpetual peace. In the conceit of their superfine culture they could not comprehend what the Prince's simple martial thoroughness and devotion to duty signified for the future of the Fatherland.

It was not till the reign of his brother, when the "Prince of Prussia" had already to reckon with the possibility of his own accession, that he engaged in affairs of State. Like his father, he wished to preserve the foundations of the ancient monarchical constitution unaltered. "Prussia shall not cease to be Prussia." Word for word he foretold to his brother[1] what he was hereafter destined to experience when the controversy regarding the reorganization of the Army arose. The Diet, he said,

[1] *Frederick William IV.*

would misuse its right to control taxes in order to weaken the power of the Army by shortening the period of military service, and could, under the plea of economy, easily deceive even the loyal. His warning was disregarded, and, just as he had once for the sake of the State sacrificed his youthful love, so now he ceased to protest, as soon as the King had made his decision on the subject. He chivalrously stepped into the breach in the United Diet, in order to divert towards himself all the grudges which had collected against the throne during that time of ferment.

Then came the storms of the Revolution period. A mad hatred and huge misunderstanding were discharged upon his head; only the Army which knew him understood him. Round the bivouac fires of the Prussian Guard in Schleswig-Holstein they sang

> "Prince of Prussia, bold and true,
> Come back to thy troops anew,
> Much belovèd General!"

And when he returned from the exile which he had undergone for his brother's sake, he accepted in obedience to the King the new constitutional régime. He gladly acknowledged what was right and vital in the measure, of the Frankfort Parliament; but he would not sacrifice the privileges of the German Princes and the strict monarchical constitution of the Army to doctrinaire attempts at innovation. The movement which had no

leaders ended in a terrible disappointment. The Prince found himself compelled to put down the disturbance in Baden. During the long years of exhaustion which followed he had plenty of time to reflect on the causes of the failure, and to ponder his brother's remark that an Imperial Crown could be won only on the battle-field.

Then the illness of King Frederick William IV set him at the head of the State. After a year of patient waiting, he assumed the regency in virtue of his own right, firmly tearing asunder the finely-spun webs of conspiracy, and two years afterwards, he succeeded to the throne. But once again after some short days of jubilation and vague expectancy he had again to experience the fickleness of popular favour, and commence the struggle which he had foreseen when heir to the throne—the struggle which concerned his own peculiar task—the reconstitution of the Army. Party hatred increased to an incredible degree, such as was only possible in the nation which had waged the Thirty Years' War. Matters came to such a pitch that the German comic papers caricatured the honest, manly soldier's face, which still reflected the smile of Queen Louisa, under the likeness of a tiger. The struggle about the constitution of the Army became so hopelessly complicated, that only the decisive force of military successes could cut the tangled knot, and establish the King's right.

And these successes came in those seven great

years when all at once the results of two hundred years of Prussian history were summed up, when one after the other, all the problems at which the Hohenzollern statesmen had laboured through so many generations, were solved. The last of the North German marches was wrested from Scandinavian rule, and thereby the work of the Great Elector was completed; the Battle of Königgrätz realized the hope which had been shattered on the field of Kollin, the hope of the liberation of Germany from the dominion of Austria; finally, a succession of incomparable victories, and the coronation of the Emperor in the hall of the Bourbons, at Versailles, surpassed all that the combatants of 1813 had expected from the third Punic War to which they looked forward. The Prussians thankfully recognized that their constitution was more secure than ever under this strong rule; for immediately after the Bohemian War, the King, who had been so completely successful in the affair, voluntarily made legal reparation for the infringement of constitutional forms, and when the strife was over, not a word of bitterness to recall it, came from his lips. But the German Confederates had, through the victories of this war—the first they had really waged in common—at last attained to a healthy national pride, and in their joy at the new Empire forgotten the rivalries of many centuries.

In all these strange courses of events, which might have turned even a sober brain, King Wil-

liam appeared always and equally firm and sure, kindly and modest. During the constitutional struggle he made, according to his own confession, the severest sacrifice which could have been demanded from his heart, which always craved for affection, in bearing the estrangement from his beloved people. In the same spirit of self-conquest he formed the difficult resolve to go to war with Austria, with whom he had been so long on friendly terms. Yet after his victory he demanded without any hesitation the acquisitions which he would never have taken from the hands of the revolutionaries as the price of a righteous war. During the sittings of the first North German Reichstag, he said, smilingly, with his sublime naïve frankness, to the deputies for Leipzig, "Yes, I would gladly have kept Leipzig."

In these difficult years he only wavered when, with his soldierly directness, he could not at once bring himself to believe in the jesuitry of cunning opponents. It was thus at Baden, in 1863, when the German Diet invited him in so apparently friendly and frank a way to the Frankfort Conference, and again in Ems during the negotiations with Benedetti. But to regard the great crisis of history in too petty and minute a way is to falsify it; it is enough for posterity to know that after a short hesitation which did honour to his character, King William made the right resolve in both cases.

After his return home, the new Emperor said:

"This result had been for a long time in our thoughts as a possibility. Now it has been brought to the light. Let us take care that it remains day." It is true that he himself believed, that in a "short span of time," as he said, he would be able to witness only the first beginnings of the new order in Germany. But the event proved otherwise and better. He was not only destined to complete the fundamental laws of the kingdom, but by the force of his personality to give inward support to its growth. At first many of the confederate princes saw in the constitution of the Empire only a fetter, but they soon all recognized in it a security for their own rights, because the indisputable leader of the high German nobility wore the Imperial crown and his fidelity assured absolute security to each. So it came to pass, really through the merit of the Emperor, and contrary to the frankly uttered expectation of the Chancellor, that the Federal Council, which at one time was universally suspected as the representative of particularism, became the reliable support of national unity, while the Reichstag soon again fell a prey to the incalculable caprices of party-spirit.

The Emperor William never possessed a confidant who advised him in everything. With a sure knowledge of men he found out capable ministers for his Council, and with the magnanimity of a great man he allowed those, whom he had tested, a very free hand; but each, even the

Chancellor, only within his own department. He always remained the Emperor, and held all the threads of government together in his own hand.

He first tasted the greatest happiness of life, when, after escaping by a miracle an attempt at assassination, he answered the enemies of Society with that magnanimous Imperial manifesto, in which he undertook to eradicate the social evils of the time. Then it was that the nation first understood completely what they possessed in their Emperor; and a stream of affectionate loyalty, such as only springs from the depths of the German spirit, carried and supported him through his last years. Europe became accustomed to revere in the grey-headed victor of so many battles the preserver of the world's peace; and it was for the sake of peace that he overcame his old preference for Russia, and concluded the Central-European Alliance. In domestic matters the strong monarchical character of his rule grew more defined as the years went on; the individual will of the Emperor maintained his right in the Parliaments, and was now supported by the cordial concurrence of a now thoroughly informed public opinion. The Germans knew that their Emperor always did what was necessary, and in his simple, artless, distinct way, always "said what was to be said," as Goethe expressed it. Even in provinces which lay remote from the lines on which his own mental development had proceeded, he

soon found himself at home with his inborn gift of kingly penetration; however much the nation owed him in the sphere of artistic production, he never distinguished with his favour anyone who was unworthy among the artists and the literati. Some features in his character recall his ancestors the Great Elector and the Great King, Frederick William I and Frederick William III; that which was peculiar to him was the quiet and happy harmony of his character. In his simple greatness there was nothing dazzling or mysterious, except the almost superhuman vitality of his body and soul. All could understand him except those who were blinded by the pride of half-culture; the immense strength of his character, and his unswerving devotion to duty served as an example to all, the simple and the intellectual alike. Thus he became the most beloved of all the Hohenzollern rulers. With splendid unanimity the Reichstag voted him the amount necessary for strengthening the Army, and up to the last his honest eyes looked hopefully from the venerable storm-beaten countenance on all the vital elements of the new time. Only shortly before his death he spoke with confidence of the patriotic spirit of the younger generation in Germany. When he departed, there was a universal feeling as though Germany could not live without him, although for years we had been obliged to expect the end.

What a contrast between the continually ascending course of life of the great father and the gloomy

destiny of the noble son! Born as heir to the throne, and joyfully hailed at his birth on the propitious anniversary of the Battle of Leipzig by all Prussian hearts, carefully educated for his princely position by excellent teachers, Prince Frederick William, as soon as he attained to manhood, appeared to excel all in manly strength and beauty. When he married the English Princess Royal, all the circles of Liberalism expected from his rule a time of prosperity for the nations, for England was still reckoned to be the model land of freedom, and the halo of political legend still encircled the heads of Leopold of Belgium and of the House of Coburg, who were delighted at the marriage. It was soon evident that the Crown Prince could neither reconcile himself to those infringements of formal rights which were caused by the struggle about the constitution, nor to the plan for incorporating Schleswig-Holstein with Prussia. But he never consented, like most English heirs to the throne, to place himself at the head of the Opposition; and he rejected as un-Prussian the thought that there could ever be a party of the Crown Prince. In the Danish War he accomplished his first great service for the State; his powerful co-operation helped the still unexperienced and often hesitating commanders to decide on a bolder procedure.

Then came the brilliant days of his fame as Commander-in-Chief, which have secured for him for ever his place in German history. He

helped towards winning the victory of Königgrätz by the bold attacking skirmishes of his Silesian Army and made it decisive by his attack on Chlum. He delivered the first crushing blows in the war against France; his fair Germanic giant figure was the first announcement to the Alsatians that their old Fatherland was demanding them back; through his martial deeds and the heart-moving power of his cheerful popular kindness, the Bavarian and Swabian warriors were for the first time quite won over to the cause of German unity. Never in the German Army will the day be forgotten when, after fresh and glorious victories, "Our Fritz," distributed the iron crosses to his Prussians and Bavarians before the statue of Louis XIV, in the courtyard of the Palace of Versailles.

After peace was concluded, the position of the famous Commander-in-Chief was not an easy one. As a Field-Marshal he was already too high in military rank and had too little interest in the daily duties of a time of peace for it to be easy to find him a suitable command. Only the most important of the German military inspections, the oversight of the South German troops, was assigned to him, and every year he performed this duty for some weeks with so much insight, firmness, and friendliness, that he won almost more affection in the South than in his Northern home. The South Germans saw him fully occupied and exerting all his energies; at home he only seldom

appeared in public life. He was the victim of his father's extraordinary greatness, and it was that which constituted his tragic destiny. He passed in a life of retirement long years of manly vigour, which according to all human computation he would have had to pass upon the throne. This long period indeed brought him a fulness of paternal happiness and gave him frequent opportunities for displaying his fine natural eloquence and for pursuing benevolent projects that were fraught with blessing for the common weal, but it did not provide adequate scope for his virile energy. Already, when a young Prince, the Emperor William cherished strict and well-weighed principles regarding the unavoidable limits which the heir to the throne must impose upon himself; he knew that the first subject in the Kingdom must not join in discussion, if he is not to be tempted to join in rule. Like all the great monarchs of history, and all the Hohenzollerns with the solitary exception of King Frederick William III, he allowed the heir to the throne no participation in affairs of State.

Only once, after the last attempt on the Emperor's life, was the Crown Prince commissioned to represent his father. It was an eventful time; the Berlin Congress had just assembled, the negotiations with the Roman Curia had hardly begun, and the law regarding Socialists was on the point of being passed. The Crown Prince carried out all his difficult tasks with masterly discretion,

and Germany should never forget how he, contrary doubtless to the dictates of his own mild heart, caused the executioner's axe to fall on the neck of the Emperor's assailant. By this brave act he re-enforced the half-obsolete death-punishment and gave it the weight which it should have in every properly ordered State.

On the Emperor's recovery the Crown Prince withdrew to the quiet life of his home, and the spirit of criticism which pervades the Courts of all heirs-apparent could not fail to find expression now and then, but it did so always in a modest and respectful way. His exertions on behalf of art were many and fruitful; without him the Hermes of Praxiteles would not have been awakened to new life, and the Berlin Technological Museum would not have been completed in such classical purity of form. He was the first in the succession of the Prussian heirs to the throne who had received a University education and he was proud to wear the purple mantle of the Rector of the old Albertina University. In his long life of retirement, however, the Crown Prince sometimes lost touch with the powerful progressive movements of the time and could not fully follow the new ideas which were in vogue. He thought to arrest with a few words of angry censure the anti-semitic movements, the sole cause of which was the over-weening presumption of the Jews, and he warned the students of Königsberg against the dangers of Chauvinism, a sentiment which

after two hundred years of cosmopolitanism, is as unfamiliar to the Germans as its foreign name.

But the course of human things looks different from a throne than when viewed from below. The nation, knowing the well-beloved Prince as they did, hoped that, as in the case of his father, his character would develop with his life-tasks and that he would show as much energy as a sovereign as he had displayed when representing his father. Then the catastrophe overtook him. Three German physicians—Professors Gerhardt, von Bergmann, and Tobold—recognized at once the character of the disease, and spoke the truth fearlessly as we are accustomed to expect from German men of science. A cure was still possible and even probable. But the resolve which would have saved the patient was lacking, and who can venture to utter a word of blame, since almost every layman in similar circumstances would have made a similar choice. Then the patient was handed over to an English physician, who at once, by the unparalleled falsehood of his reports, cast a stain on the good name of our ancient and honourable Prussia. With growing anxiety the Germans began to surmise that this precious life was in bad hands. The result was more tragic than their worst fears. When the Emperor William closed his eyes, a dying Emperor came up to succeed to the lofty inheritance.

The greatness of the monarchy, and its superiority to all republican forms of government rests essentially on the well-assured and long duration of the princely office. Its power is crippled when this assurance is lacking. The reign of the dying Emperor could only be a sad episode in the history of the Fatherland, sad on account of the inexpressible sufferings of the noble patient, sad on account of the deceitful proceedings of the English doctor and his dirty journalistic accomplices, and sad on account of the impudence of the German Liberal party who obtruded themselves eagerly on the Emperor as though he belonged to them, and certainly gained one success, the fall of the Minister von Puttkamer. The monarchical parties on the other hand both by a feeling of loyalty and the prospect of the approaching end were compelled to preserve comparative silence. At such times of testing, all the heart-secrets of parties are revealed. Those who did not know it before were now obliged to recognize what sycophancy lurks beneath the banner of free thought, and how everyone who thought for himself would be tyrannized over if this party ever came into power. Fortunately for us, in the whole Empire they have behind them only the majority of Berlin people, some learned men who have gone astray in politics, the mercantile communities of some discontented trading towns, and the certainly considerable power of international Judaism. But let us banish these dark pictures which history has long left

behind. Let us hold fast in reverent recollection that which lends moral consecration to the tragic reign of the Emperor Frederick. With a religious patience, whose greatness only a few of the initiated can thoroughly understand, with an heroic strength which outshines all the glories of his victories on the battlefield, he bore the tortures of his disease, and bereft of speech he still preserved in the face of death the old fidelity to duty of the Hohenzollerns and his warm enthusiasm for all the unchanging ideals of humanity. In a way worthy of his father he departed to everlasting peace, and so long as German hearts beat, they will remember the royal sufferer who once appeared to us the happiest and most joyful of the Germans and now was doomed to end his life in so much suffering.

In those happy days when the picture of the "Four Kings"[1] hung in all German shop-windows, many a one said to himself in sorrowful foreboding that "it was too great good-fortune." Now the equalizing justice of Providence has caused the abundance of joy to be followed by such an excess of grief as seems too hard for a monarchic people. Of the four Kings two are no more. But life belongs to the living. With hopeful confidence the nation turns her eyes to her young Imperial lord. All which he has hitherto said to his people, breathes a spirit of strength and courage, piety and justice. We know that the good spirit of the

[1] William I, Frederick III, William II, Crown Prince William.

old Emperor's times still remains unlost to the Empire, and even in the first days of mourning we lived through a great hour of German history. With German fidelity all our Princes gathered around the Emperor and appeared with him before the representatives of the nation. The world learned that the German Emperor does not die, whoever may wear the crown for the moment. What a change of affairs since the times when on each New Year's day the German Courts watched anxiously for the utterances of the mysterious Cæsar on the Seine! To-day the German speech from the throne makes no mention of these world-powers which once presumed to be the only representatives of civilization, for one can argue as little with unteachable enemies as with pushing and doubtful friends. Whether Europe accommodates itself peacefully to the alteration of the old relations between the Powers, or whether the German sword must again be drawn to secure what has been won, in either case we hope to be prepared.

Unless all signs are deceptive, this great century which seemed to begin as a French one, will end as a German one; by Germany's thoughts and Germany's deeds will the problem be solved how a strong hereditary sovereignty can be compatible with the just claims of modern society. Some day the time must come, when the nations will realize that the battles of the Emperor William not only created a Fatherland for the Germans

but bestowed upon the community of European States a juster and more reasonable arrangement. Then will be fulfilled what Emmanuel Geibel once said to the grey-haired conqueror.

"Some day through the German nation,
All the world will find salvation."

GERMANY AND NEUTRAL STATES.[1]

HEIDELBERG,
25th October, 1870.

NO hatred is so bitter as enmity against the man who has been unjustly treated; men hate in him what they have done to him. That is as true of nations as of individuals. All our neighbours, some time or other, grew at Germany's expense, and to-day, when we have at length smashed the last remnants of foreign domination, and demand a modest reward for righteous victories, a permanent guarantee of national freedom, angry blame of German insatiability resounds throughout the European press. Especially do those small countries, which owe their very existence to the dismemberment of the German Empire, *e. g.*, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, complain loudly that an arrogant Pan-Germanism has destroyed our people's sense of fairness. It is hatred that vents itself in these charges; no impartial person can deny that the notion of Pan-Germanism is as foreign to us Germans as its name, which originated in the bogey-fears of foreign countries. No doubt owing to the excitement of the times, a foolish

[1] *Preussisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 26, p. 605, et seq.

boastfulness has here and there come into being; out-and-out Teutons are imploring us to banish all foreign words from the sanctuary of the German language; men of picturesque talents among the unemployed are drawing on the patient map of Europe a kingdom of Armorica and Arelat between France and Germany. However, such ideas are simply the isolated absurdities of idle heads; once in a while they may accidentally stray into one of the bigger newspapers, but even then they appear only in those insignificant columns devoted to such subjects as sea-snakes and triplets, children with fowls' heads,and the mythical Fusilier Kutschke. The great majority of German politicians exhibit to-day a deliberate moderation, which the Swiss and Belgians would hold in greater respect if those nations, which enjoy the more comfortable peace and quiet of a neutrality protected by other Powers, were able to put themselves in thought in the position of a great warrior-nation which has been forced to fight for its life by an unscrupulous attack.

Public opinion has become more quickly united regarding the reward of our victory than ever before in a complicated question. The boundary line of the Government of Alsace, which has indeed been drawn with a considerate hand and will presumably constitute Germany's boundary, meets almost everywhere with agreement. People only regret, and rightly so, that the splendid region of the Breusch, which is abundant in springs, and

the district around Schirmack, together with the Steinthal, that essentially German tract of country consecrated by the life-work of the unforgettable Oberlin, are not included in the new boundary. Blind lust of conquest is so alien to the Germans that they even decide with much unwillingness to demand the possession of Metz; but the obvious impossibility of leaving right at our doors in the hands of revengeful enemies this town, which is a stronghold by its position, not by its walls, compels us in this case to enter into occupation of French territory.

The desire of robbing the neutral neighbouring States, which imaginative persons in Bâle and Brussels are fond of attributing to us, is expressed only by some isolated German Chauvinists. We notice with anxiety, like all the thoughtful Swiss, that those two decades of fresh prosperity which Switzerland enjoyed since the Civil War are to-day at an end. We ask, gravely, what shall eventually be the outcome of a development which is tending ever more and more to loosen every community and every individual from the State? But we honestly wish that the Confederation may succeed in overcoming the disintegrating power of an unbridled Radicalism; the *rôle* which this asylum for all parties has long played, to the good of Europe, is not yet played out by any means. No intelligent German wants to increase the excessively strong centrifugal powers, which are embraced in our new Empire, by the inclusion of purely

Republican elements, and all free men are horror-struck at the thought that Geneva and Lausanne, which are to-day the centres of an independent intellectual movement, would, by the dissolution of the Swiss Confederation, be involved in the horrible fall of France. We are also quite without *arrière-pensée* in regard to the Netherland States, which did so little to win Germany's friendship; we certainly trust that the strengthening of the German Empire will of itself bring it about, that the foolish inclination at The Hague to France may be moderated, and that the Flemish majority in Belgium may find the courage to assert their race beside the Walloon minority. Still, because we do not want to shake the national constitutions of these buffer-States, because we demand a lasting arrangement on our Western boundary, for that reason a question has now to be settled once for all, which threatens to be continually disturbing our good relations with our small neighbours, although it has in very truth nothing whatever to do with the independence of the Netherlands. The conclusion of peace with France may and shall afford the opportunity of incorporating Luxemburg in the German Empire.

It is repugnant to us to revive to-day the memory of the odious transaction which deprived us of that territory—the single bitter memory in the glorious history of the North German Confederation. Suffice it that that German territory which by the decision of Europe was once allotted

to the House of Orange and the Crown of Prussia, in order to protect it against France's lust of piracy, was suddenly sold and betrayed to France by its own rulers. When the Prussian Government entered a protest, it was confronted by the unconcealed partisan disfavour of all the European Powers. The fear of France lay heavily on the world; it reads to us to-day like a farce, when we read in the documents of those days how Lord Stanley and Count Beust outrivalled each other in depicting to our Government the fearful superiority of French power; the French fleet would occupy the attention of the greater portion of our forces, would make it impossible for us to protect South Germany, etc. Prussia, which was honestly trying to display its love of peace in an affair not altogether free from doubt, and was, moreover, fully busied with the founding of the new Confederation, gave up its right of garrisoning, and contented itself with the inadequate result, that France had to abandon her welcome purchase. In place of the military protection which Prussia had afforded the country up till then, was substituted a moral protection, by which the great Powers undertook a common responsibility for the neutrality of the Grand Duchy. But scarcely had the agreement been concluded, when it at once lost all its value owing to the perfidious interpretation put upon it by England. Amid the exultant cheers of Parliament, Lord Stanley declared that Great Britain would only take up

arms for Luxemburg's neutrality if the other Great Powers did the same; the press, drunk with peace, rejoiced that England's obligations were not extended, but limited, by the May Convention—and the politics of the Sinking Island-Kingdom had taken a fresh step downwards. After such words no description is requisite of the deeds that might be expected from British statesmen; nobody doubts that England would not have let itself be disturbed in its neutral complacency, even if a victorious French army had penetrated into Luxemburg last August.

The joint European guarantee was from the start an empty form, and the position of the little neutral country has been rendered completely untenable by the mighty revolutionary events of recent weeks. If the German boundary advances as far as Metz and Diedenhof, Luxemburg becomes surrounded in the south, as in the north and east, by German-Prussian territory, the country no longer forms a buffer-State between France and Prussia, and the object of the May Convention, the idea of preventing friction between the two great military Powers, vanishes of itself. Considering the deadly enmity which will threaten us yet a long time from Paris, the Prussian Government could hardly tolerate seeing the communications between Treves and Metz interrupted by neutral territory; serious military considerations compel Prussia's desire to plant its standard again on those Luxemburg fortifica-

tions on which it stood for fifty years, a screen for Germany.

And is not the neutrality of the little country, the artificial creation of a "nation luxembourgeoise," in very truth a disgrace to Germany? Polyglot countries, like Belgium and Switzerland, may justly be declared neutral, because their mixed populations prevent them from taking partisan parts in the national struggles of this century. But to cut off two hundred thousand German persons from their Fatherland in order to place them under European guardianship, that was a crime against common-sense and history, an insult which could be offered only to this our hard-struggling Germany. The little State is German to the last hamlet, belongs to us by speech and customs, by the memories of a thousand-years-old history, as well as by the community of material interests. And this country, which presented us with three Emperors, which once revolted against Philip of Burgundy in order to preserve its German language, which, further, in the days of the French Revolution, twice joined in the national war against the hated French, this root-and-branch German country is to-day under French rule! The official language is French, the laws of the country are derived from France and Belgium. Since the injurious nine-years' treaty with Belgium, people in Luxemburg have grown accustomed, as in Brussels and Ghent, to admire French methods as a mark of distinction. The

officials, who are moulded in French and Belgian schools, introduce French arrogance from their alien environment, radically oppose the German spirit, change the honest old German place-names of Klerf and Liebenbrunn into Clerveaux and Septfontaines. The people are alienated from the German system of government by the sins of the Diet; they cannot forget that the German Confederation once abandoned a half of the country in undignified fashion to Belgium, and then obligingly all the governmental pranks of reactionary ministers. A fanatical clergy, a lying press conducted by French and Belgians, no doubt also maintained by French gold, foster their hatred for the great Fatherland, and the Netherland States gaze with indifference at the decline of the German civilization.

Under such unhealthy conditions every kind of political corruption of which the German nature is capable has spread over this small people. Whilst the German youth are shedding their blood for the Eternal, for the Infinite, the Luxemburgers are wallowing in the mire of materialism; a superstitious belief in the life of this world has emasculated their minds, they know nothing, they want to know nothing except business and pleasure. Whilst in Germany, amid hard strugglings, a new, a more moral conception of liberty is arising, which is rooted in the idea of duty, there an existence without duties is praised as the highest aim of life. They want to derive advan-

tage from the Customs Union, to which the country owes the essence of its prosperity, without doing the least service for Germany. They let the Germans bleed for the freedom of the left bank of the Rhine—including Luxemburg—they loudly boast they have no fatherland, and reserve it to themselves to heap abuse on Germans as slaves, to shout to the German tide-waiters a scornful "*mer de pour la Prusse!*"

Ought Germany any longer to endure this European scandal, this parasitic plant without a fatherland, which is battening on the trunk of our Empire? The national State has the right and duty of protecting its nationals all over the world; it cannot endure that a German race should be gradually transformed into a German-French mongrel without any reason except the perversity of a degenerate bureaucracy. There is only one way of preventing it, as things are, namely, the inclusion of the country in the German Empire. The Reichstag, however, can allow this inclusion only under two conditions: it must require that the German tongue be used again as the official language, and that the agreement binding the Grand Duchy to the Kingdom of the Netherlands shall be broken off. The bond of union between the two States is certainly very loose; still, in our Diet we got to know only too thoroughly the unhallowed consequences of the blending of German and foreign politics; although the constitution of the Confederation says nothing

about it, we must set up for our new Empire the infrangible principle: no foreign sovereign can be a member of the German Confederation.

We do not mean that Germany should right-away declare the May Convention to be nullified in consequence of the present war. Much rather do we desire the free unanimity of all the parties concerned. The support hitherto afforded by France to Luxemburg independence is to-day disappearing of itself. The infatuated resistance of the French will presumably oblige the Confederate general to increase his demands; it would then be all the easier for the French Government, upon the conclusion of peace, to make a binding declaration, in return for some fair concession, that it recognizes in advance the entry of Luxemburg into the German Confederation. For the conversion of the Luxemburgers themselves would suffice a definite assurance, that henceforth Germany's customs-boundary coincides with its political boundary, and the customs-convention cannot be renewed unless the Grand Duchy again undertakes the duties of a Confederate territory. Such will scarcely fail of its effect in that country, where ideal reasons find no response, despite the fiery enthusiasm for independence which is to-day again turning the heads of the little people. Their industries cannot flourish without the blessings of German commercial freedom; they would be bound to be ruined if the Small State tried to form an independent market-region, and the same

would happen if it entered the Belgian customs area.

Serious opposition can hardly be expected from the Dutch Government, which has long been weary of its troublesome neighbour. But the head of the House of Orange has long been converted to the commercial neutrality of those patricians of Amsterdam, whom his great ancestors formerly fought against; his heart, however warmly it may beat for France, will find to-day the clink of Prussian dollars quite as pleasant as that of golden napoleons four years ago. An understanding must also be possible with the magnates of the joint House of Nassau, whose rights were expressly reserved in the May Convention. The simplest solution of the question would certainly be arrived at if Prussia were to acquire the country by purchase. Already the Prussian State numbers fifty thousand Luxemburgers among its citizens in the districts around Bittburg and St. Vith; if the Grand Duchy and French-Luxemburg, together with Diedenhof, were to be taken over in addition, that misgoverned and mutilated country would at last be united again under one Crown—up to the Belgian portion. But this solution, which is in every respect most desirable, is not absolutely a necessity; German interests primarily extend only so far that the Principality be again adopted into our line of defence, into the life of our State and culture. Should, therefore, the joint House prefer to raise

up a Nassau Prince as a Prince of the Confederation to the throne of Luxemburg, Germany cannot refuse; such an arrangement would at any rate be far preferable to the unreal conditions of to-day. Lastly, we are yet in need of the agreement of the European Powers. That also is obtainable; for right and fairness are obviously on our side, if we intend to impose similar charges on all members of the Customs Union; moreover, England has long felt the guarantee undertaken for the neutrality of Luxemburg to be a wearisome burden. However, everything depends entirely on not commencing negotiations prematurely, so that the neutral Powers may not find welcome occasion to interfere in the Franco-German negotiations.

Alsace, Lorraine, Luxemburg! What wounds have been inflicted on German life in those Marches of the Empire through the crimes of long centuries, and how perseveringly will all the healthy forces of the German State be obliged to bestir themselves in order to keep in peace what the sword has won! The task seems almost too heavy for this generation, which has only just rescued our Northern March from alien rulers. Still, what is being accomplished to-day is but the ripe fruit of the work of many generations. All the industry, all the honesty and active power, all the moral wealth, which our fathers awoke anew in the deteriorated Fatherland, will work on our side if we now dare to adapt the degenerate sons

of our West to German life; and the best that we can achieve in peace can yet never approach the deeds and sufferings of the heroes who paid with their blood for the dawn of the new times.

AUSTRIA AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

HEIDELBERG,
15th Dec., 1871.

ONCE more Austria has emerged from a severe ordeal. The Hohenwarte Cabinet has resigned; the plans of the Slavs to upset the rights and the policy of the Germans have been frustrated, and under the auspices of the Magyars a Ministry has been formed which, to say the least, may be credited with just intentions towards the Germans and an honest desire for the preservation of the State. But the cries of joy from German breasts to greet the deliverance from threatening danger are isolated. Hitherto, it was customary that our countrymen on the Danube in days of stress should lose faith in their Government only to regain confidence as soon as the political clouds lifted again, and for a long time past we Germans of the Empire have been accustomed to this sudden change of feeling in German Austria, just as we are accustomed to laws of nature. For the first time, however, the old rule no longer applies; the news from our Austrian friends reads gloomier than ever, despite the slight change for the better which has now taken place, and the

question is wonderingly asked how in such a country reckless men are still found ready to accept a ministerial portfolio. What a weird spectacle to behold!—a great empire whose own people have lost faith in themselves. Let us calmly examine these serious matters. It does not admit of doubt what we for the sake of Germany wish for Austria. We German Unity-makers were never the enemies of Austria; we only contested the preponderating power which Austria exercised on German and Italian soil to the detriment of all parties. Now, having fought victoriously, we are more in favour of Austria than many Austrians themselves. Nowhere during the last few weeks have so many warm and genuine wishes been exchanged for the continuance of Austria as in the lobbies of the German Parliament. Our Empire's ambition must simply be directed towards the building up of an independent and solid commonwealth within our boundaries, which will suffice to us all completely. We have Italy's hasty agitation for unity as a warning example before us, and must not desire to embody, in addition to the strong centrifugal powers fermenting in the interior of Germany and to the inhabitants of our Polish, Danish, and French frontiers, yet another eight million Czechs as our fellow-citizens. In the days of Frederick the Great, when ideas of a Slav Empire lay dormant, it was perhaps not very difficult to turn over Bohemia entirely to German ideals. The old

race-hatred having, however, now been aroused again with terrific ferocity, even the united forces of Germany might have to spend scores of years on this difficult and perhaps sterile task, should we ever step into the sad heritage of the Hapsburgs. We already have more than enough ultramontane enemies of the Empire, and we will keep them in check; our Empire is, however, well balanced only because of the preponderance of Protestants. We should commit a crime against the future liberty of thought were we to contemplate absorbing fourteen million Catholics. Germany longs for peace; the vapourings of the democracy regarding the war-fanaticism of our Government are lying statements, disbelieved even by their originators. The collapse of Austria, however, would mean an upheaval unexampled in history, which would embroil us in endless wars and threaten to destroy the development of a peaceful policy for a long time to come.

We Germans have never understood the principle of nationality in the crude and overbearing sense that all German-speaking Europeans must belong to our Empire. We consider it a boon for the peaceful intercourse of the world that the boundaries of nations are not engraved with a knife in the shell of the earth, that millions of French live outside France, and outside the German Empire millions of Germans. If the present-day situation in Middle Europe consolidates, if in the *middle of the* Continent there are two great

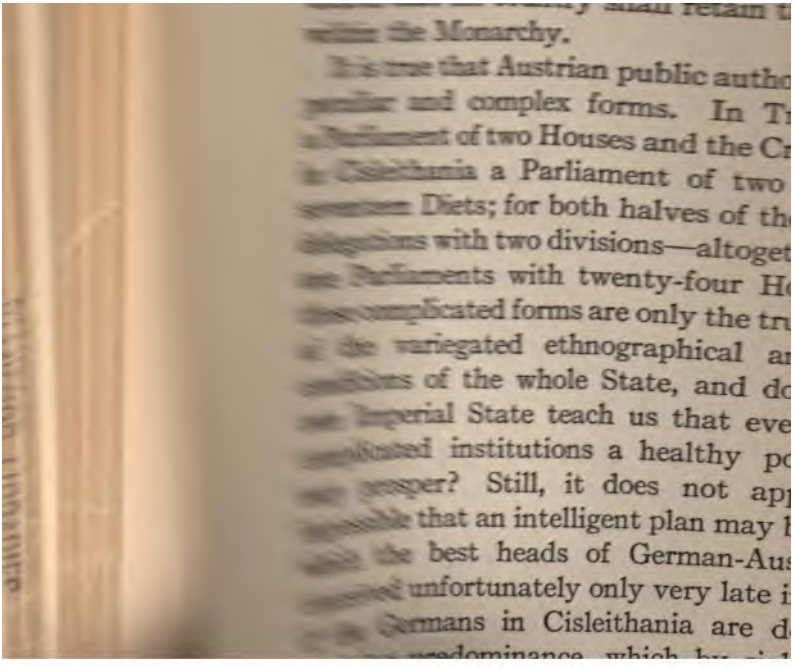
Empires, the one uniform and purely German, the other Catholic and polyglot, yet permeated by German ideas—who will contend that such a state of affairs is humiliating to German national pride? More magnificent and more brilliant than the day of Königgrätz shines the glory of Sedan; but the firm basis of our power to-day, the creative thoughts of a new German policy have been engendered by the blessings of 1866. "Down with Austria," was then our battle-cry, and Germany breathed as if freed from a nightmare when we separated from Austria. Every day of German history has proved since then that this separation was a necessity, and that only through it we have found ourselves again. In order to satisfy unbridled greed are we to demolish again the structure of 1866, the foundations of our Empire? Are we to discard like old rubbish that rich treasure of historic-political importance amassed during half a century by our serious thinkers as common property of the Germans solely because our countrymen in Austria do not immediately succeed in adjusting themselves to the new order of things? Not an inch of land was taken by the victor of 1866 from the vanquished; such moderation not only arose from the desire to reconcile the adversary, it was also clearly evident that those Austrian provinces which were for four centuries estranged from German life and interdependent through political ties, as well as through mutual commercial interests, have a good right to stand side by side

independently with Germany. Austrian pessimists might give as an example Moscow and Warsaw. The opinion that the capital on the Danube is to become a German provincial town is ridiculed as ludicrous in sober-thinking Berlin. The German idealists of the Danube speak lightly of the disruption of Austria as if a Great Power could easily be annihilated; we but ask what is to become of the territories of the Crown of St. Stephen after the collapse of the monarchy, and, unable to find a satisfactory reply, we desire the continuance of Austria as a Power.

The dualism which so often is depicted as the beginning of the end appears to us in a different light. The agreement of 1867 has not exactly created a new state of affairs, but merely reconnected the thoughts of the only Austrian sovereign who intelligently and successfully understood the handling of internal reforms. To leave the lands of the Hungarian Crown under their former constitution, and to form the Crown lands of the west into one political unit, were the plans formerly of Maria Theresa. It is due to Deak that this long-forgotten policy has been renewed in modern form. Our political pride may revolt, yet we cannot think it unnatural that Hungarians have finally assumed political direction in the dual Empire. Those six million Magyars, together with the two million Hungarian-Germans who obey the former almost blindly, form the biggest political entity of the Empire. They have the firm legal basis of an old

historic constitution—an immense advantage in comparison with the chaotic conditions of public law in Cisleithania. They alone amongst the people of Austria have conquered freedom by dint of hard work; they surpass all others in political training and experience. Thus historic necessity has finally brought it about that for the present only a Hungarian Prime Minister is possible. We shall not be expected to throw a stone at the deposed Count Beust. The most spiteful remarks which could be made about him are at the outset silenced by his charmingly ingenious eulogies, which, in the style of the Duke of Coburg, he himself has made regarding his own importance. Credit is due to him for having recognized the moment when it was in the interest of the Crown to submit to the conditions of the Hungarians. In all other matters he displayed as Imperial and Royal Chancellor of the Exchequer exactly the same lack of tact and foresight which in times gone by we admired in the diplomatic *faiseur* of "Pure Germany." Everything in politics turned out with regularity differently to what he anticipated. The neutrality of Austria during the last war was not due to him but to our quick successes, to the bad condition of the Austrian army, to the threats of Russia, the bravery of the German-Austrians, and the clearheadedness of Count Andrassy. It was an admission of weakness on the part of Austria that a State ailing from severe moral troubles should have for its

salvation called upon such a frivolous man, who never claimed to possess the moral seriousness of a reformer; and it is perhaps still more regrettable that many an honest citizen to-day waxes bitter in his outcry against the fallen dignitary after having for five years been an eye-witness of his debaucheries. Count Andrassy has at any rate this advantage over his predecessor, that he believes in himself and in his cause. He is an honest Hungarian patriot, and therefore must try to maintain the State in its entirety, as Hungary is not yet powerful enough to exist without German Austria. He must also defend the Constitution of Cisleithania, as it is only with constitutional Cisleithania that constitutional Hungary has come to a settlement. He never recognized the Concordat for Hungary although it existed in Cisleithania, and for that reason alone he is the enemy of the Ultramontanes and the Feudalists. He cannot favour federalism, because Hungary prefers discussing mutual Imperial affairs with the delegates of Parliament instead of with seventeen Diets. Besides, federalism in Bohemia, Moravia, and Krain would inevitably throw the Germans under the yoke of the Slavs; Hungary, however, can make herself easier understood by the Germans than by the Czechs. Count Andrassy solemnly assures us of his love for peace, and we have no reason to mistrust him. The weakness of Hungarian politics lies in the fact that the mental and economical development of the leading half



materialize and gain vitality if that South Slav State decides to recognize the supremacy of the Crown of St. Stephen; Galicia, on the other hand, justly claims independence by the side of Cisleithania, in the same way as Croatia by the side of Hungaria. If this separation were successful, and at the same time direct parliamentary elections were introduced, German Austria, as a country with fourteen million inhabitants and an adjoining country of about six millions, would face sixteen millions of the Crown of St. Stephen, and the German element could retain the upper hand in Parliament.

We in Germany are willing to remain on good terms with Austria as long as Count Andrassy does not depart from his peaceful programme. The old feud is honestly fought out, and in to-day's conditions of Austria there are at present only two questions which might possibly compel us to terminate friendly relations with the Empire. If the Magyars misuse their power and upset the German tendencies of the Suabians in Hungary, or even those of the Transylvanian Saxons, the best German race in the south-east, the friendly tendency in Germany will rapidly disappear. Our national pride has, God be praised, become more sensitive to-day, and we all feel that our Empire cannot silently put up with acts of violence against our own flesh and blood. The alliance which for centuries has united the Hapsburgs with the Polish Republic is still operative. During the

last ten years Austria has given free rein to the Polish "Junkerdom," and for the Poles Galicia is the stronghold of their nationality. If Galicians obtain the desired autonomy, Polish liberty will quickly show its true colours, and will reveal itself in overbearing tyranny against all non-Poles. The principle of nationality which represents to-day the forlorn hope of the Poles, has not been so shamelessly trampled upon by any nation in Europe as by the Poles in the days of their good fortune. In Cracow the last German professors of the University have already been sent away, and the old German college is in the hands of the Poles. Soon perhaps the Jews of Kasimierz will be the sole representatives of Germany in the old town, which owes its existence to the Germans. Soon enough, also, the Ruthenian eastern half of the country will have tales to tell of the atrocities of Polish Junkers and of the clergy. All this does not touch us immediately. West Prussia is preparing to gratefully celebrate next summer the centenary of the first division of Poland; in Posen, likewise, German culture and German development is making progress; the Posen peasant knows that his position under Polish nobility was incomparably harder than under the present-day Prussian sceptre. In this district we are immune from any rising, provided no artificial agitation is introduced from without. But moderation is not to be expected from the hereditary political incapacity of the Polish Junkers. Once masters of

Galicia this province will be the heart of busy Polish propaganda, and the frantic cry, "Ancient Poland down to the green bridge of Königsberg" may soon be heard again. Thus Austria's Polish policy cements the friendship between Prussia and Russia, the old faithful allies, and prevents us following unsuspiciously the Danube Empire's measures.

As long, however, as our Polish possessions are not endangered, Germany is willing to extend benevolent sentiments to her neighbour, an honest intention which does not lose its value because it is expressed without sentimental tenderness. A State like Austria cannot exact affection from independent people. Our interests induce us to desire the continuance of the Empire of the Lothrings, and these interests form the closest tie between the States. But are our devout wishes a power strong enough to face fate? Who amongst us desired the recent war? Nobody; and yet inexorable fate dragged us into it. The mutual interests of neighbouring Powers may afford a small State an unjustified existence for centuries; a big Power, however, cannot exist if it lacks vitality, and if it does not appear as a blessing, or at any rate as a necessity to its own people. Were we to ask such questions regarding Austria, innumerable apprehensions and considerations present themselves. The most confident can to-day only say it is possible that Austria may keep together; but all the foundations of that State belong to a *period* of the past.

When Austria lost her unnatural power over Germany and Italy, many hopeful prophecies were expressed that the Empire on the Danube would rejuvenate and breathe freely again, like the Prussian State after having renounced Warsaw. Exactly the contrary has happened. Austria's worries have incessantly increased since 1866. By withdrawing from foreign territory she has not found herself again, but abandoned her old historic character. Ever since its existence, the aims of the Austrian Empire were exclusively directed to European politics. An internal reign taken as a whole did not exist at all. Once the creed of unity was established, the Crown allowed everything to go as it did, and was satisfied when its people silently obeyed. Hardly ever has the House of Hapsburg-Lothring bestowed a thought upon improving her administrative machinery, the furtherance of the people's welfare, popular education, and upon all the seemingly insignificant tasks of internal politics which to other countries are of cardinal importance; only Maria Theresa and Joseph II realized the seriousness of their duties. To-day, however, humbled and weakened, hardly able to maintain the position of a big Power, Austria finds herself compelled to reconsider her ways. External politics which formerly meant to her everything have now lost importance; the whole country's powers are invoked to repair the internal damage, and whilst the "Hofburg" (the Imperial Palace), although unwillingly,

is compelled to expiate the sins of neglect of many centuries, the question is asked, with steadily growing insistence, whether this age of national State formations still has room left for an Empire which lacks national stamina.

Undoubtedly the natural form of government for such a conglomerate Empire is absolutism. An independent monarch may maintain a neutral attitude over his quarrelling people; he may in happy days lull his country into comfortable slumber in order to play one nation against the other in time of need; but these old tricks have long ceased to be effective. In every conceivable form absolutism has been tried by the "Hofburg," only to finally prove its complete all-round inefficacy. Cisleithania's population owes its constitution to the failure of absolutism, and not to its own strength. To us Germans of the Empire it was clear beforehand that liberty bestowed in this way could thrive but slowly, and only after severe relapses. True, some democratic dunces in Berlin formerly applauded the juggling tricks of the "People's cabinet," and have claimed for Prussia "liberty as in Austria." But all sensible people in Germany find it natural that the constitution in Austria so far has caused only venomous, complicated, and barren party quarrels. More serious than the infantine diseases of constitutionalism seems the terrible growth of race-hatred. Here, as elsewhere, parliamentarism has accentuated national contrasts. As Schleswig-Holstein

experienced it with the Danes, so Austria experiences it now, that free people learn far more slowly than legitimate Courts the virtue of political tolerance and self-restraint. As was to be expected of the Hapsburg-Lothrings, the constitutional Imperial Crown has remained thoroughly despotic in sentiment. As yet none of the innumerable ministers of the present Emperor have in reality guided the country. Count Beust could be pardoned everything except popular favour, which was his main support. The just plaint of the Germans who are true to the constitution is that "mysterious forces"—a deeply veiled Camarilla of subaltern bureaucrats and ultramontane noblemen—dominate the Court, and, in spite of the abolition of the Concordat, the relations between the "Hofburg" and the Roman Curia have not come to an end. Since Austria's withdrawal from the German alliance the house of the Lothrings, now fatherless, has no further inducement to favour the Germans, and the Court already displays marked coolness towards German ideals. The spokesmen of the Germans are men of the Liberal Party, who in their dealings with the Crown have unfortunately displayed clumsy ignorance about constitutional doctrine. The Magyars show chivalrous respect for the wearer of the Crown of St. Stephen, and the Court commences to feel comfortable in Budapest. The feudal leaders of the Slavs conscientiously display their dynastic tendencies; the German Ministers,

however, behave as if the Emperor were really the only fifth wheel of the cart after Rotteck and Welcker, and in the lower Austrian Diet Liberal passion recently descended to most unseemly remarks against the Imperial family. Does Vienna not remember that the Hapsburgs never forget? Thus the ties between the Crown and the Germans are loosening.

The Army is no longer an absolutely reliable support of the State, because it has undoubtedly lost in quality since the day of Königgrätz. A State which resembles the "Wallenstein Camp" can gain great victories only by means of homeless mercenary troops. Any improvement of modern warfare impairs the fighting capacity of Austria. The more the moral element commences to enter into the calculations of war the more the cruelty of the private soldier and the deep-laid mistrust which separates Slav troops from their German officers will give rise to apprehension. The customary foolery about clothing, which has finally led to concocting for the Imperial and Royal Armies the ugliest uniform in the universe, makes just as little for the fitness of the forces as the improvement of weapons. The introduction of compulsory military service, which can serve a useful purpose only in a national State, was in Austria a thoughtless precipitation; for the moment it has disorganized discipline, and it is questionable whether the future will show better results. German *students*, Polish noblemen, fanatical

Czechs, join the ranks of the volunteers and are promoted to officers' rank in the militia; but this new corps of officers does not invariably, as of yore, seek its home under the black and yellow standard. The militiaman acquires at home all the prejudices of race-hatred; the Hungarian "honveds" are certainly brave soldiers, but equally surely cannot be led against an enemy. The young noblemen who formerly gladly gathered round the Imperial Standard now stay away, and race-hatred impairs comradeship. The officers of the German Army at times glance critically at the history of Austria's military forces, who, with rare exceptions, have for 130 years always fought bravely and—unsuccessfully; and they compare the days of Metz and Sedan with the hopeless campaign against the Bochese. The old remedy of hard-pressed Hapsburgs—a state of siege—promises but scant success for an army thus constituted.

In addition thereto, are public functionaries of generally very inferior education, whose corruption does not admit of doubt, servile and yet always argumentative; we refer to the Czech bureaucracy, indescribably hated and despised by Germans and Hungarians alike. In the Church there is a strictly Roman party with very well meaning but also very vague Old-Catholic aspirations, and there exists widely diffused a shallow frivolity which derides as Prussian hypocrisy all agitations for moral seriousness. In the same way the quondam

much-talked-of inexhaustible resources of the Danube Empire prove to-day a pleasant fairy tale. An Exchequer, which has twice within ninety years covered yearly expenditure by regular receipts, and has now again just weathered veiled bankruptcy—such incredible financial mismanagement has not only destroyed the private fortunes of thousands; it has also largely stimulated the habit of gambling and of prodigality. In nearly all the Crown lands of Cisleithania agriculture lacks a body of educated middle-class farmers; it is the link between farms and the vast estates of noblemen which is missing. The development of industry is similarly handicapped. Whilst in most provinces trade and commerce are in their infancy, Vienna is agitated by feverishly-excited speculation. For ever so long the Vienna Stock Exchange has drawn the "smart set" into its circle. Pools and syndicates carry on the organized swindle, and the small man is also dragged into the turmoil by innumerable commission houses. The magnificent capital is of course a grand centre for every kind of intercourse, but its corruption reacts detrimentally upon the commonwealth. The bulk of the citizens are still healthy and capable, but amongst the always immoral masses of the metropolisan impudent socialism is to-day at work, which derides the spirit of the Fatherland as reactionary, and amongst all the races of Austria most vehemently attacks the Germans as "bourgeois." Of the moral conditions of the upper

classes, and particularly of Stock Exchange circles, the Vienna newspapers, which are closely allied with the latter, give ample testimony. Vienna journalism, although highly developed, is, on the whole, the most immoral press of Europe—Paris by no means excluded. The German party in Vienna is about to initiate the *Deutsche Zeitung*, because an honest party cannot rely upon the existing big German newspapers. All these powerful journals are nothing else, and do not pretend to be anything else, than industrial undertakings, and a smile of compassion would greet those who were to speak to those literary speculators about political tendencies. By the side of the big organs of the Stock Exchange jobbers, there is a huge crowd of dirty halfpenny rags, which live on extortion and journalistic piracy, for in this frivolous town there are many with a bad conscience, and liberal payments are made to stop the slanderous tongue of the blackmailer. Since the first happy days of Emperor Francis Joseph, when court-martials condemned to death, New Austria has attempted nearly every imaginable political system ; such a sudden change is bound to unsettle the sense of justice and the people's opinions respecting their country. The views of the German-Austrian pessimists are very unpalatable to Germans in the Empire, as they cross our political calculations. But let us also be just, and let us try to place ourselves in the position of a warm-hearted, scientifically-educated young German-Austrian.

Why in the world should this man love his country in its entirety? Ancient faith, force of habit, fear of the uncertain future and of radical changes, all these considerations retain him within Austrian boundaries; but to rejoice his heart, he casts his eyes northwards, where he beholds his countrymen in a respected, mighty Empire, in a well-secured national commonwealth, with orderly economic conditions, and he perceives them in every respect happier than he is himself. He hates the "rugged Caryatid-heads of the servile classes," as Hebbel, amid great cheers, once said of the German-Austrians, and above all he hates the Czechs. To keep this slavedom in subordination and to shield the best he calls his own, *i.e.*, German thought and German sentiment, from the aggressive waves of barbarism he looks to the Empire for protection. We seriously point out to him the much-praised "colonizing vocation" of Germanism in Austria. He, however, borrows from the rich treasure of the Imperial and Royal bureaucratic language a beautiful phrase, and bitterly suggests that this calling has now gradually become obsolete ("in Verstoss gekommen"). In Hungary, in Bohemia, in Cracow, in the Tyrol, everywhere Germanism is retrograding, and everywhere it is proved that the atmosphere of the Hapsburg rule is detrimental to German nationalism. He complains that, "Centuries ago the liberty of German faith was wrested from us, clerical pressure weighs upon the soul of the people, and we have not

sufficient iron left in our blood to protect ourselves against the numerical majority of foreigners." He tells us of the political leaders of his race, how they are nearly all done for and worn out, many of them ill-famed for being deserters, sellers of titles, or promoters. Then he asks whether it behooves Germans to be governed by Hungarians after the dicta of Magyar policy, and confidently finishes up thus: "Certainly Austria is a European necessity, but the Austria of the future borders in the west on the Leitha, and we Germans belong to you." We give him to reflect that after all it is an honour to belong to Austria, that ancient mighty Power, whereupon he shrugs his shoulders. "Times of the past," he says. "When recently Count Hohenwarte spoke to us of the real Austrian nationality he was greeted by peals of derisive laughter on the part of the Germans. We remind him of the Oriental mission once entrusted by Prince Eugene to the realm on the Danube. Drily he replies: 'A State which can hardly stand on its own legs will still less be able to subdue foreign people, especially when violently hated by them.'"

After the first great defeat of New Austria at the battle of Solferino, Austrian Germanism began to awake from its deep slumber. Notably in the universities a more active national sentiment developed, and we subsequently witnessed the realization of what we German patriots always anticipated, *i.e.*, that Austria's exodus from the

German Alliance would greatly enliven and strengthen the mental intercourse between us and the Germans on the Danube. Never before has our political work met with such friendly reception amongst the Austrians as amongst the German nationalists of Graz and Vienna to-day. We heartily apologize for the severe injustice done years ago to the German "Gothærn"; nothing is more touching than the youthful and amiable enthusiasm which these circles harbour for our new Empire; nowhere has Prussia warmer friends. From the bottom of our heart we wish that the noble German national pride, the healthy political intellect of this party, may display all its energy in the perfecting of the Cisleithanian constitution. The German-Austrian who greets every shortcoming of his country with a jubilant "Always livelier and livelier" does not assist Germany in her great object; she has only use for the active man who works physically and mentally in order to procure for the Germans the leadership in Cisleithania. The German national pride in Austria is a child of woe; it has invariably been aroused by the defeats of the monarchy, and at each fresh awakening it has given proof of greater power. Up till now only a small portion of the German-Austrians evinces strong German national sentiment; the history of the recent war shows to what extent. The thinking middle classes followed our battles with a hearty and active interest never to be forgotten, and the brave German peas-

ants in the Alps likewise recollected their heroic wars against the Wallachs. The high nobility, however, and the masses in the towns persevered in the old hatred against Prussia. The small gentry of Imperial and Royal licensed coffee-house keepers and tobacconists doted on the French Republic. As always in Austria, the big financial interests gave proof of their unprincipled meanness, and insufficient attention has been paid in Germany to the great dispatch of arms which went from Vienna *via* Trieste to France. German national sentiment, however, is visibly in the ascendant, and it grows daily on beholding the new German Empire. National pride and hatred permeate, so to say, the atmosphere of this unlucky State, whose future entirely depends upon the reconciliation of national interests. The growing hatred against the Slavs may by and by press the broad masses of German population into the ranks of the German nationalists, and unless fairly well-regulated constitutional life can be established in the near future in Cisleithania the Germans might finally also realize that their nationality is dearer to them than their Government.

Closer ties attach the greater part of the Slavs to the Austrian Monarchy. When from the distance we hear only the uncouth blustering of Czech fanaticism, when we listen to the assurances of German scientists in Prague, that a Czech university by the side of a German one is at any rate more endurable than a university with mixed

languages, which must infallibly lead to the destruction of Germanism in Bohemia; when we thus behold the battle of the elements in the territories of the Crown of Wenceslaus, we are apt to think that such blind national hatred would not shrink from the destruction of Austria. On closer examination, however, secret fear and a singular cowardice are easily detected, which hide behind the uproar of the Czechs. They are noisy, they bluster and twist the law, but they do not dare to start war. In the midst of their roarings they feel that they cannot dispense with the Monarchy because, unlike the Germans, no home is open to them outside Austria. Not even the hotheads dare count with certainty upon the fulfilment of Pan-slavist dreams, and that is why for the time being the autonomous crown of Wenceslaus or the division of Cisleithania into five groups united by federalism suffices for them. The tameness of the Czechs is, however, not due to honest intentions, but to the consciousness of weakness, which can and will change as soon as Czechdom finds support in a great Slav power, and it is already patent that the Poles regard Galician autonomy only as the first step towards the re-establishment of the Empire of the Sarmats.

Amongst all the nations of Austria the Magyars must to-day display the greatest energy for the maintenance of the Monarchy. The newly-established Crown needs Cisleithanian support; those people, with their lively ancestral recollections,

know only too well how often Austria and Hungary have mutually saved each other. The convention was in every respect vastly in favour of the Magyars. Hungary contributes thirty per cent. towards the general expenditure of the Monarch and to the payment of interest on the debt of the country; if closely calculated it will be found to be even less. And in spite of all, the Magyars cannot overcome the old mistrust of the "Hofburg"; the tribunals of Eperies and Arad can no more sink into oblivion than the impudence of the "Bach" Hussars. In Parliament a strong and growing Opposition has aims beyond the convention, and it appears full of danger that this Opposition consists almost exclusively of pure Magyar blood. The delegate "Nemeth" recently offered his solemn congratulations in Parliament to the German-Austrians on the impending union with their German brothers. Should disorder continue to reign in Cisleithania less hot-blooded Magyars will also soon raise the question whether a union with "Chaos" be really an advantage for Hungary.

Two neighbours of Austria, *i.e.*, Russia and Italy, believe with the greatest positiveness in the collapse of the Monarchy, and truly everything seems possible in the vicinity of the Orient. The Oriental question extends, moves westwards, and resembles a stone which, when thrown into water, draws ever-widening circles. It already enters into the domain of the far horizon which has to be considered in the politics of the German Empire. Very

probably the fate of Austria and the still not definitely solved Polish question will in time to come be mixed up with the enigmatical future of the Balkan population. In Russia's leading circles fierce hatred, only too easily understood, rages against Austria, a hatred which the prudence of clever statesmen may temporarily suppress but cannot stifle altogether, the highest interests of the two neighbours in the East as well as in Poland being in closest vicinity. Certainly one needs the happy levity of Count Beust in order to look with steadfast confidence into the future of Austria. What follows? The struggle of German-Austria against the Slavs is at the same time a struggle of the modern States against feudal and ultramontane Powers. The constitution of Cisleithania honestly kept and intelligently developed offers room for all nations of German-Austria. Whoever has the freedom and peaceful development of Middle Europe at heart must earnestly wish that the oft-proved vitality of the old State may once more assert itself, and that the Germans this side of the Leitha may hold their own. The perfecting of this constitution can, however, even under the most favourable auspices, only take place very slowly; there is an immeasurable distance between the wretched indifference which was prevalent in German-Austria after the battle of Königgrätz and the present national sentiment. The German tongue and German morals must not anticipate great results from the Lothrings; it must suffice

to us if Germans maintain their possessions against Slavs and Magyars. The complete solution of a great European task is no more to be expected of this infirm country. Only after ten years of internal peace will Austria, if ever, gain power to pursue serious plans in the East. An unreservedly sincere friendship we must not expect of the "Hofburg." The policy of silently preserving all rights is understood in Vienna as well as in Rome. And however honestly well-wishing we might be, the Lothrings know from Italy the mighty attraction of national States, and know that their Germans cannot turn their eyes from our Empire. Because of its existence alone the German Empire is viewed by them with suspicion, and prudent circumspection is appropriate. Every uncalled-for attempt at intervention in Austria's internal struggle accentuates the mistrust of the "Hofburg" against our countrymen and prejudices the German cause. This Prince Bismarck magnificently understood when he abstained at Gastein from all observations against the Hohenwarte Cabinet. It was very badly understood by the honest citizens of Breslau, Dresden, and Munich, when they decided on their heartily well-meant and heartily stupid declarations of sympathy for German-Austria. Lucky for German-Austria that, thanks to our sober-mindedness, such madcap ideas did not find sympathy; but all our interest in Austria does not justify us in shutting our eyes to the possibility of her collapse. The perfection

of the Cisleithanian constitution presupposes the good intentions of all parties; at present such intention is, however, found to exist only among part of the German-Austrians. The Italians are in the habit of saying, Austria is not a State but a family. When the foundation of Hapsburg power was laid, the expression *tu felix Austria nube* met with admiration in the whole world and Emperor Frederick III, regretfully looking at his amputated foot, said: "Itzt ist dem Reich der ein Fuss abgeschniedten" ("Now one leg has been cut off the Empire"). The times of imperial self-worship and State-forming marriages of princes are no more. Will a country which owes its origin to the senseless family policy of past centuries, which in character belongs to ancient Europe, be able to satisfy the demands of a new era? We dare not answer negatively, yet as brave and vigilant men we must also contemplate that in years to come Fate may reply to the question in the negative. If the calamity of the destruction of Austria were to occur,—and it would also be a calamity to Germany,—then our Empire must be ready and prepared to brave the forces of Fate to save Germanism on the Danube from the *débris*. "To be prepared is everything," saith the Poet.

THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA.

IN the summer of 1813, August Wilhelm Schlegel wrote to Schleiermacher: "Is it to be wondered at that this nation, on whose shoulders the weight of the balance of power in Europe has been laid for one and a half centuries, should go with a bent back?" In these words he indicated both the cause of the long-continued feebleness of our country and also the ground of the constant mistrust with which all the Great Powers saw Germany recovering strength. Even a cautious and unprejudiced German historian will find it hard to keep from bitterness, and will easily appear to foreigners as a Chauvinist, when he portrays in detail in how much more just and friendly a way the public opinion of Europe regarded the national movements of the Italians, the Greeks, and the Southern Slavs, than the Germans' struggle for unity. It needs even a certain degree of self-denial in order to recognize that the whole formation of the old system of States, the way of looking at things of the old diplomacy, depended on the divided state of Germany, and consequently in our revolution we could expect nothing better from the neighbouring Powers than, at most, neutrality and silent non-interference.

A proud German will be glad of the fact that we owe all that we are really to ourselves; he will willingly forget past unfairness in practical politics and simply ask what is the attitude of the neighbouring Powers to the present interests of our Empire? But he who only sees in history an arsenal from which to draw weapons to pursue the varying aims of the politics of the day, will, with a moderate amount of learning and some sophistry, be able to prove, just as it happens to suit him, that France or Austria, Russia or England, is our hereditary foe. A book of such a sort, thoroughly partisan in spirit and unhistorical, is the work *Berlin and Petersburg; Prussian contributions to the history of the Relations between Russia and Germany*, which an anonymous author has lately published with the unconcealed purpose of arousing attention and of preparing the minds of credulous readers for a reckoning with Russia. The book is entitled "Prussian Contributions," and the preface is dated from Berlin. I am quite willing to believe that the author, when he wrote his preface, may have happened to be passing a few days in Berlin. But everyone who knows our political literature must at once discern that the author of the work is the same publicist who has issued the little book, *Russia, Before and After the War, Pictures of Petersburg Society*, and a number of other instructive works dealing with Russo-German relations. And this publicist is, as is well known, no Prussian but an inhabitant

of the Baltic provinces; he has, hitherto, never claimed to concern himself with Prussian politics, but has always, with great talent and restless energy, represented the interests of his Baltic home as he understood them. Among the political authors of Germany he takes a position similar to that which Louis Schneider once occupied on the other side. Just as the latter, assuredly in his way an honest Prussian patriot, regarded the alliance with Holy Russia as a dogma, so does our author view hostility to the Czar's Empire; only, he is incomparably abler and quite free from that deprecatory manner which makes Schneider's writings so unpleasant. The restoration of Poland and the conquest of the Baltic provinces, these are the visions which, more or less disguised, hover in the background of all his books. In his view the Prussian monarchy has really no other *raison d'être* than the suppression of the Slavs; it misses its vocation till it has engaged in hostilities against the Muscovites. All the problems of German politics are gauged by this one measure; no inference is so startling as to alarm our author. In 1871 he opposed the conquest of Alsace and Lorraine, for the liberation of our western territories threatened to postpone the longed-for war with Russia; nor could a patriot of the Baltic provinces allow that Alsace with its Gallicized higher classes was a German province, while on the other hand, the German nationality of Livland and Kurland was rooted exclusively in the nobility

and well-to-do citizen class. Such a steady direction of sentiment towards one object compels the respect, even of an opponent. So long as our author fought with an open visor, one could pardon his warm local patriotism when he at times spoke somewhat contemptuously of Prussia, and held up the wonderful political instinct of the Baltic nobility as a shining example to our native narrow-mindedness. But when, as at present, he assumes the mask of a deeply-initiated Prussian statesman, when he pares and trims our glorious history to suit the aims of the Baltic malcontents, and wishes to make us believe that Prussia has been for fifty years the plaything of a foreign power, then it is quite permissible to examine more closely whether the cargo of this little Baltic ship is worth more than the false flag which it flies at its masthead.

The old proverb, "Qui a compagnon, a maître," is especially true of political alliances. Hardenberg made a mistake when he once said regarding Austria and Prussia, "leurs intérets se confondent." A community of interests between independent Powers can only be a conditional one, and limited by time; in every alliance which lasts long, sometimes one of the contracting parties and sometimes the other will consider itself overreached. Thus our State at the commencement of the eighteenth century made enormous sacrifices to aid the objects of the two sea-Powers, but did not finally gain any further advantage from this long alliance than the right of her head to use the kingly title,

and some barren laurels. The history also of the seventy-seven year-long friendship between Prussia and Russia—the longest alliance which has ever existed between two great Powers—presents many such phenomena. There were times when German patriots were fully justified in regarding the friendship of Russia as oppressive, nay, as disgraceful, just as on the other hand in recent years the great majority of educated Russians firmly believed that their country was injured by the Prussian alliance. But when one sums up the results, and compares the relative position in respect of power of the two States in 1802, when their alliance was formed, with that in 1879, when it was dissolved, it cannot be honestly asserted that Prussia fared badly in this alliance.

The Russo-Prussian alliance was, as is well known, entirely the personal work of the two monarchs, and everyone knows how much it was helped forward by the honest and frank friendship which the King Frederick William III displayed towards the versatile Czar. But these personal feelings of the King never overpowered his sound political intelligence and his strong sense of duty. Every new advance of historical investigation only reconfirms the fact that the King was altogether right when, unseduced by the proposals of so many cleverer men than himself, he was only willing to venture on the attempt at rising against Napoleon in alliance with Russia. Without the help of the Czar Alexander, the capture of Paris,

and the restoration of the old power of Prussia would have been impossible. Any one who doubts this should peruse the recently published Memoirs of Metternich regarding the real objects of the Vienna Court at the time—*i.e.*, not the Memoirs themselves with their intolerable self-glorification, but the appended authentic official documents, which, for the most part, plainly contradict the vain self-eulogy of the author. At the Congress of Vienna the two courts still continued to have a community of interests: the Czar was obliged to support Prussia's demands for an indemnity, if he wished to secure for himself the possession of Poland.

At the second Peace of Paris, on the other hand, the interests of the two Powers came into violent collision. The Czar had indeed favoured the restoration of the State of Prussia, so that Russia should be rendered impregnable through this rampart on its most vulnerable side, but he as little wished the rise of a completely independent self-sufficing German power as the courts of Paris, Vienna, and London did. Therefore, the restoration of our old western frontier, which Prussia demanded, was defeated by the united opposition of all the Great Powers. All the courts without exception observed with anxiety what an unsuspected wealth of military power little Prussia had developed during the War of Liberation; therefore they all eagerly vied with one another in burying Prussia's *merits* in oblivion. Whether one reads

the military dispatches of Wellington and his officers, the letters of Schwarzenberg, Metternich, and Gentz, the semi-official writings of the Russian military authors of that period, it is difficult to say which of the three allies had most quickly and completely forgotten the deeds of their Prussian comrades-in-arms. Nevertheless, the alliance with Russia and Austria was a necessity for Prussia for it still remained the most important task of our European policy to prevent another declaration of war on the part of France, and the Great Alliance actually achieved this, its first purpose. When Austria, in 1817, rendered anxious by Alexander's grandiose schemes, proposed to the King of Prussia a secret offensive and defensive alliance, which in case of need might be also directed against Russia, Hardenberg, who in those days was thoroughly Austrian in his sympathies, was eager to accept the proposal. But the King acted as a Prussian, and absolutely refused, for only the union of all three Eastern Powers could secure to his State the safety which he especially needed after the immense sacrifices of the war. Yet our Baltic anonymous author is quite wrong in so representing things as though, in Frederick William III's view, the alliance with Russia had been the only possible one. The King knew, more thoroughly than his present-day critic, the incalculable vicissitudes of international relations and always kept cautiously in view the possibility of a war against Russia. In 1818 he surprised the Vienna Court by the

declaration that he wished also to include Posen, East and West Prussia, in the German Confederation, because in case of a Russian attack, he wanted to be absolutely sure of the help of Germany. Frederick William held obstinately to this idea although Hardenberg and Humboldt spoke against it, and he did not give it up till Austria opposed it, and thus every prospect of carrying the proposal through in the Diet of the Confederation disappeared.

It is equally untrue that the King, as our anonymous author condescendingly expresses it, had modestly renounced all wishes of bringing about a union of the German States. His policy was peaceful, as it was obliged to be; it shunned a decisive contest for which at that time all the preliminary conditions were lacking, but as soon as affairs in the new provinces were, to some extent, settled, he began at once to work for the commercial and political unifying of Germany. In this difficult task, which in very truth laid the foundation for the new German Empire, Prussia encountered at every step the opposition of Austria, England, and France. Russia alone among all the Great Powers preserved a friendly neutrality. This one fact is sufficient to justify the King in attaching great importance to Russia's friendship.

This partiality of his, however, was by no means blind, for nothing is more absurd than the author's assertion that Prussia, by the mediation which brought about the Peace of Adrianople, had merely

done the Russian Court an unselfish service. When the war of 1828 broke out, the King had openly told the Czar that he disapproved of his declaration of war. The next year, at the commencement of the second campaign, the European situation assumed a very threatening aspect. The Vienna Cabinet, alarmed in the highest degree by the progress of the Russian arms, exerted itself in conjunction with England to bring about a great alliance against Russia; on the other hand the King knew from his son-in-law's mouth (the Czar's autograph note is still preserved in the Berlin state archives) that there was a secret understanding between Nicholas and Charles X of France. If matters were allowed to go their course, there was danger of a European war, which might oblige Prussia to fight simultaneously against Russia and France, and that about a question remote from our interests. In order to avert this danger, and thus acting for the best for his own country, the King resolved to act as a mediator, and brought about a peace which, as matters then were, was acceptable to both contending parties.

Prince Metternich was certainly alarmed at this success of Prussian policy, and the reactionary party in Berlin, Duke Karl of Mecklenburg, Ancillon, Schuckmann, Knesebeck, who were all staunch adherents of the Vienna diplomat, were alarmed; but the ablest men at the Court, Bernstoff, Witzleven, Eichhorn, and above all the younger Prince William, approved the King's

well-considered proceeding. The resolve of the King was obviously connected with the brilliant successes which his finance minister, Motz, had won at the same time in the struggles of German commercial policy. To the calm historical judgment the years 1828 and 1829 appear as a fortunate turning point in the history of that uneventful period; it was the time when Prussia again began to take up a completely independent position in relation to the Austrian Court. Among the liberals, indeed, who had lately been admiring the Greeks, and now were suddenly enthusiastic for the Turks, there arose a supplementary party-legend, that Prussia had only undertaken the office of mediator in order to save the Russian army from certain destruction. This discovery, however, is already contradicted by the calendar. On August 19th, Diebitch's army appeared before Adrianople; and it was here that the victor's embarrassments first began, and here, first, it was evident how much his fighting power had been reduced by sickness, and the wear and tear of the campaign. But Prussia had commenced acting as mediator as early as July; when General Muffling received his instructions, the Russian army was victorious everywhere.

Later on, also, the sober-mindedness of King Frederick William never favoured the Czar's designs against the Porte; he rather did his best to strengthen the resisting power of the Ottoman Empire. The only partly effective reform which

the decaying Turkish State succeeded in carrying through—the reconstitution of its army—was, as is well known, the work of Prussian officers. All the reports which the embittered scandal-seeking opposition party of that time circulated, regarding the influence of Russia in the domestic concerns of Prussia, are mere inventions. The King alone deserves blame or praise for the course of domestic policy; his son-in-law never refused to pay him filial reverence. Even the eccentricities of the Berlin Court at that period, the love for parades, the bestowing of military decorations, which were stigmatized by the liberals as "Russian manners," were simply due to the personal predilection of the King, and it is difficult to decide whether Russia has learnt more in this respect from Germany, or vice versa. During the anxious days of the July revolution the King exhibited again, with all his modesty, an independent and genuinely Prussian attitude. Frederick William resisted the legitimist outbursts of his son-in-law, and hindered the crusade against France which had been planned in St. Petersburg. The next year he resisted with equal common sense the foolish enthusiasm of the liberals for the Poles, and by occupying the eastern frontier, assisted in the suppression of that Polish insurrection which was as dangerous for our Posen as for Russian Poland. The Baltic anonymous author conceals his vexation at this intelligent policy of self-assertion, behind the thoughtful remark that

we had, as is well known, "paid for rendering this assistance with the valuable life of Gneisenau." Should we, then, perhaps enter in our ledger on the Russian debit side, the cholera, which swept away our heroes?

During the whole period from 1815 to 1840, I know only of a single fact which can be alleged to give real occasion to the reproach that the King, for the sake of Russia's friendship, neglected an important interest of his State. In contrast to the ruthless commercial policy of Russia, Prussia showed a moderation which bordered on weakness. But this matter, also, is not so simple as our anonymous author thinks. He reproaches Russia with the non-fulfilment of the Vienna Treaty of May 3, 1815, and overlooks the fact that Prussia herself hardly wished in earnest the carrying out of this agreement. It was soon enough proved that Hardenberg had been overreached at Vienna by Prince Czartoryski. The apparently harmless agreements regarding free transit, and free trade with the products of all formerly Polish territories, imposed upon our State, through which the transit took place, only duties, without conferring any corresponding advantages. In order to carry out the treaty literally, Prussia would have had to divide its Polish provinces from its other territories by a line of custom-houses. But the Poles saw in the treaty a welcome means of carrying their national propaganda into our Polish territories by settlements of commercial agents. Thus it hap-

pened that Prussia, after futile negotiations, proceeded on her own account; and by the customs law of 1818 placed her Polish territories on precisely the same footing as her other eastern provinces. After this necessary step, Prussia was no more in the position to appeal successfully to the Vienna Treaty. And what means did we, in fact, possess to compel the neighbouring State to give up a foolish commercial policy, which was injurious for our own country? Only the two-edged weapon of retaliatory duties. The relation of the two countries assumed quite a different aspect under Frederick William IV. It will always be one of the most bitter memories of our history, how lacking in counsel, and wavering in purposes the clever new King proved, in contrast to the strong-willed Czar,—how cruelly he experienced, by countless failures, that in the stern struggles for power of national life, character is always superior to talent, and how at last, for truth will out, he actually feared these narrow minds. Here our author has good reason for sharp judgments; and here also he gives us, along with some questionable anecdotes, some reliable matter-of-fact information regarding the history of the confusions of 1848–50. It is quite true that the Czar Nicholas in the autumn of 1848 asked General Count Friedrich Dohna whether he would not be the Prussian General Monk, and march with the first army corps on Berlin, to restore order there; the whole Russian army would act as his

reserve in case of need. The memories of the Count printed from autograph, confirm the correctness of this story with the exception of some trifling details. But even here the author cannot rise to an unprejudiced historical estimate of the events in question. He conceals the fact that not only Russia but all the great Powers were against the rise of a Prussian-German Empire. The position which the Powers had assumed with regard to the question of German unity had not changed since 1814. He similarly ignores the fact that all the great Powers opposed the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein; and it is undeniable that Russia, according to the traditions of the old diplomacy, had better grounds to adopt such an attitude than the other Powers. For all the cabinets believed then decidedly—although wrongly—that Prussia wished to use the struggle with Denmark as a means of possessing herself of the Kiel harbour. The Russian State, as a Baltic power, could not welcome this prospect.

Russian policy, in contrast to that of England, France, and Austria, was also peculiar in this, that it resisted the Prussian constitutional movement. The Czar Nicholas did not merely behave as the head of the cause of royalty in all Europe, but actually felt himself such; and it was precisely this which secured him a strong following among the Prussian conservatives. It is far from my intention to defend, in any way, the wretched policy which came to grief at Warsaw and Olmütz,

we, the old Gotha party, have all grown up as opponents of this tendency. Meanwhile, after the lapse of a whole generation, it seems, however, to be time to appreciate the natural motives which drove so many valiant patriots into the Russian camp. It is enough to remember only the King's ride through mutinous Berlin, the retreat of the victorious guards before the defeated barricade-fighters, and all the terrible humiliation which the weakness of Frederick William IV brought on the throne of the Hohenzollerns. The old Prussian royalists felt as though the world were coming to an end; they saw all that they counted most venerable, desecrated; and amid the universal chaos, the Czar Nicholas appeared to them to be the last stay of monarchy. Therefore, in order to save royalty in Prussia, they adhered to Russia. They made a grievous error, but only blind hatred, as with our author, can condemn them abruptly as betrayers of their country. The head of the pro-Russian party in Berlin was, at the beginning of the fifties, the same Field Marshal Dohna who had instantly rejected with Prussian pride the above-mentioned contemptible proposal of the Czar; of him, a diplomat said: "So long as this old standard remains upright, I feel easy." Strongly conservative in political and ecclesiastical matters though he was, this son-in-law of Scharnhorst had never surrendered the ideal of the War of Liberation, the hope of German unity. What brought the noble German into the ranks of the

reactionists was certainly not regard for Russia, but that hopeless confusion of our affairs which had brought about such a close connexion between the great cause of German unity and the follies of the revolution; the imperial crown of Frankfort seemed to him as to his King to be a *couronne de pave.*

As regards the Crimean War, all unprejudiced judges believe, nowadays, that Prussia had, as an exception, and for once in a way undeserved good fortune. The crushing superiority of Russia was broken by the western Powers without our interference, and yet our friendly relations with our eastern neighbour, which were to be so fruitful in results for Germany's future, remained unbroken. Even a less undecided, less inactive government than Manteuffel's ministry could scarcely have obtained a more favourable result than this. Our author himself tepidly acknowledges that it was not Prussia's duty to side with the western Powers, and thus help on the schemes of Bonapartism. A really brilliant statesman perhaps might, as soon as the military forces of France were locked up in the east, have suddenly made an alliance with Russia, and attempted the conquest of Schleswig-Holstein, and the solution of the German question, without troubling himself about mistaken public opinion. But it is obvious how difficult this was, and how impossible for a personality like the King's. Instead of quietly appreciating the difficulty of the circumstances, our author

only vehemently denounces Russia's pride, and Prussia's servility. He also again ignores the fact that Prussia then, unfortunately, had fallen into a state of being regarded as negligible by the whole world, and the arrogance of the western Powers was not less than that of Russia. Everyone knows the letters of Prince Albert, and Napoleon III's remark, regarding the deference which Prussia showed towards Russia; the cold disparaging contempt displayed in the letters of the Prince Consort, who was himself a German, and accustomed to weigh his words carefully, is, in my opinion, more insulting than the coarse words of abuse which the harsh despotic Nicholas is said to have blurted out in moments of sudden anger. Our author also ignores the fact that the Czar Nicholas, declared himself ready to purchase Prussia's help in the field by surrendering Warsaw. In the camp of the English and French allies they were willing to pay a price also, but only offered a slight rectification of the frontier on the left bank of the Rhine. Which of the offers was the more favourable?

This whole section of the book is a mixture of truth and falsehood, of ingenious remarks and tasteless gossip. We will give one specimen of the author's manner of relating history. He prints in spaced letters the following: "In February, 1864, a Prussian State-secret—the just completed plan of mobilization—was revealed to the Court of St. Petersburg." Then he relates how one of our

noblest patriots, a well-known writer, conveyed the news of this betrayal, of course in perfect good faith, to a Berlin lithographic correspondence agency; and in consequence a secret order was issued for the writer's arrest. I happen to be exactly acquainted with the affair, and can confirm the statement that the order for arrest was certainly issued—a characteristic occurrence in that time of petty panics on the part of the police. But more important than this secondary matter, is the question whether that piece of information was reliable, and whether that betrayal really took place. The author has here again concealed something. The report was that a brother of the King had committed the treachery. This remarkable disclosure, however, did not originate with any one who was really conversant with affairs, but with an honourable, though at the same time very credulous and hot-headed, Liberal deputy of the Landtag,[1] who had nothing to do with the Court. Is it exaggerated loyalty when we Prussians demand from the Baltic anonymous author, at least, some attempt at a proof, before we resolve to regard one of our royal princes as a traitor to his country. The story simply belongs to the series of innumerable scandals, which were only too gladly believed by the malicious liberalism of the fifties. It was, we must remember, the time when Varnhagen von Ense was flourishing. In accordance with the general tenor of his book, the author

[1] Parliament of a single State.

naturally does not relish the indisputable fact, that the policy of Alexander II atoned for many of the wrongs which the Czar Nicholas had committed against Germany. He seeks rather, during this period of Russian history, to hunt up every trace of movements hostile to Germany. It is, for instance, a well-known fact, that after the Peace of Paris, Russia sought for a *rapprochement* to France; and it may also be safely assumed that Prince Gortschakoff, from the commencement of his political career, regarded an alliance with France as the most suitable for Russia. But it is a long way from such general wishes to the acts of State-policy. For whole decades the great majority of French statesmen, without distinction of party, have given a lip-adherence to the Russian alliance; even Lamartine, the enthusiast for freedom, spoke of this alliance as a geographical necessity and the "cry of nature." And yet the course of the world's history went another way.

Then came the Polish rising of 1863. The Court of St. Petersburg learned to know thoroughly the secret intrigues of Bonapartism, and in Prussia's watchful aid found a proof of the value of German friendship. Since then, for a whole decade, its attitude has remained favourable to our interests, whatever fault the Baltic anonymous author may find in details. Certainly it was only the will of one man, which gave this direction to Russian policy. The Russo-Prussian alliance has never denied its origin; it has never

evoked a warm friendship between the two nations. While the great majority of Germans regarded Russian affairs with complete indifference, there awoke in the educated circles of Russian society, as soon as the great decisive days of our history approached, a bitter hatred against Germany, which increased from year to year. But that one will, which was friendly to us, governed the German State; and so long as this condition lasted, the intelligent German press was bound to treat the neighbouring Power with forbearance. When the Baltic author expresses contempt for our press because of this, and blames it for want of national pride, he merely shows that he has no comprehension for the first and most important tasks of German policy. His thoughts continually revolve round Reval, Riga, and Mitau.

That the dislocation of the equilibrium among the Baltic Powers, and the advance of Prussia in the Cimbric peninsula must have appeared serious matters to the St. Petersburg Court, is obvious. But at last it let the old deeply-rooted tradition drop, and accommodated itself with as good a grace as possible to the *fait accompli*. Similarly it is evident that the formation of the North German Confederation could not be agreeable to it. When the war of 1866 broke out, people at St. Petersburg and all the other capitals of Europe expected the probable defeat of Prussia, and at first were seriously alarmed at the brilliant successes of our troops. But this time also a sense of fair-

ness prevailed. The Czar Alexander accepted the new order of things in Germany, as soon as he ascertained what schemes were cherished by the Court of the Tuileries against the left bank of the Rhine. In the next year, 1870, this attitude of our friend and neighbour underwent its severest test. Austria, Italy, and Denmark, as is well known, were on the point of concluding an alliance against Germany, when the strokes of Wörth and Spichern intervened. England did not dare to forbid the French to make the attack, which a single word from the Queen of the Seas could have prevented, and afterwards she prolonged the war by her sale of arms, and by the one-sided manner in which she maintained her neutrality. The Czar Alexander, on the other hand, greeted each victory of his royal uncle with sincere joy. That was the important point, and not the ill-humour of Prince Gortschakoff, which our author depicts with so much satisfaction. Russia was the only great Power whose head displayed friendly sentiments towards us during that difficult time. And if we wish to realize how valuable Russian friendship was for us also in the following years, we must compare the present state of things with the past. As long as the alliance of the three Emperors lasted, a European war was quite out of the question, for the notorious war crisis of 1875 has in reality never existed. Since Russia has separated from the other two Imperial Powers, we are at any rate within sight of the possibility of a European war,

and may perhaps be suddenly compelled to act on two frontiers simultaneously.

The most welcome task for an author, who openly preaches war against Russia, was obviously to show in detail through what circumstances the old alliance after the peace of San Stefano was loosened and finally dissolved. I know no more of these matters than anyone else. I only know that in Russia there is deep vexation at the course taken by the Berlin Congress, and that a great deal of the blame is imputed to the German Empire. I have heard of secret negotiations regarding a Franco-Russian alliance, and am without further argument convinced that Prince Bismarck would not have given German policy its latest direction without very solid reasons. But I have no more exact knowledge of the matter. Therefore it was with easily intelligible curiosity that I began to read the last section of the book. I hoped to learn something about the transactions between Russia and France; I hoped to learn whether the sentiments of the Czar Alexander have changed, or whether that monarch does not now more personally direct the foreign policy of his kingdom, etc. But our author himself knows nothing about such matters; he deceives himself or others when he pretends to be initiated. He only produces lengthy extracts from the Germanophobe articles of the Russian press. Every publicist who is at all an expert knows just as many *fine and pithy* passages in Muscovite papers.

In Hansen's *Coulisses de la Diplomatie* the author, who loves historical sources of this kind, might discover similar outpourings of Russian politicians. But all that proves very little. The question is much rather whether the Russian press, which, as is well known, enjoys only a certain degree of freedom in the two capitals and remains quite unknown to the mass of the people, is powerful enough to influence the course of Russia's foreign policy. To this question the author gives no answer.

So we lay the book aside without any information on the present state of affairs, but not without a feeling of shame. When two who have been friends for many years have broken with each other, it is not only unchivalrous for one to tax his old companions with sins committed long ago, but unwise; the reproach always falls back on the reproacher. The last impression which the reader carries away from this work is much more unfavourable for Prussia than for Russia; therefore even the foreign press greeted it at once with well-deserved contempt. Anyone who believes the author, must come to the conclusion that King Frederick William III and his two successors, had conducted a Russian and not a Prussian policy. Happily this view is quite false. But we would remind the Baltic publicist who, under the disguise of a Prussian patriot, draws such a flattering picture of our history, of an old Prussian story, which still has its application. In the Rhine

campaign of 1793, a Prussian grenadier was inveighing vigorously against King Frederick William II; but when an Austrian fellow-soldier chimed in, the Prussian gave him a box on the ears and said: "I may talk like that, but not you; for I am a Prussian."

The author's remarks on the future are based upon the tacit assumption that the European Powers fall naturally into two groups: Austria, England, Germany, on the one side; Italy, Russia, and France, on the other. In the short time since the book came out, this assumption has already been made void; the English elections have reminded the world very forcibly of the instability of grouping in the system of States. If the author had commenced his work only four weeks later, it would probably not have appeared in the book market at all, or have done so in a very different shape.

But there is one truth, though certainly no new one, in the train of thought which is apparent in this book; it is only too correct that hostility to everything German is constantly on the increase in influential Russian society. But we do not at all believe that an intelligent Russian Government, not misled by the dreams of Pan-Slavism, must necessarily cherish such a feeling towards us. We regard a war against Russia as a great calamity, for who, now, when the period of colonizing absolutism lies far behind us, can *seriously* wish to encumber our State

with the possession of Warsaw, and with millions of Poles and Jews? But many signs indicate that the next great European crisis will find the Russians in the ranks of our enemies. All the more important therefore is our newly-confirmed friendship with Austria.

This alliance is, as a matter of course, sure of the involuntary sympathy of our people; if it endures, it may have the useful effect of strengthening the German element in Austria, and finally checking the melancholy decay of our civilization in Bohemia and Hungary, in Krain and the Tyrol. Our interests in the East coincide, for the present, with those of the Danube Empire. After the occupation of Bosnia has once taken place, Austria cannot again surrender the position she has taken up, without preparing a triumph for our common enemy, Pan-Slavism. Nevertheless, we cannot join our Baltic author in prophesying that the treaty of friendship with Austria will be as lasting and immovable as the unity of the German Empire. Germany has plenty of enemies in the medley of peoples which exist in Austria; all the Slavs, even the ultramontane Germans hate us; nay more, the Magyars, our political friends, suppress German civilization in the Saxon districts of Transylvania, much more severely than the Russians ever ventured to do in their Baltic provinces. It is not in our power to keep these hostile forces for ever aloof from the guidance of Russia. The unity of our Empire, on the other

hand, rests on our own power alone, and on the loyalty which we owe to ourselves; therefore it will last, whatever changes may take place among the European alliances.

FREEDOM.

WHEN shall we see the last of those timid spirits who find it needful to increase the burden of life by self-created torture, to whom every advance of the human mind is but one sign more of the decay of our race—of the approach of the Day of Judgment? The great majority of our contemporaries are again beginning, thank Heaven! to believe quite sturdily and heartily in themselves, yet we are weak enough to repeat some, at least, of the gloomy predictions of those atrabilious spirits. It has become a commonplace assumption that all-conquering culture will at last supplant national morality by a morality of mankind, and transform the world into a cosmopolitan, primitive pap. But the same law holds good of nations, as of individuals, who show less differentiation in childhood than in mature years. In other words, if a people has vitality enough to keep itself and its nationality going in the merciless race-struggle of history, every advance in civilization will certainly bring its external life in closer contact with other peoples, but it will bring into clearer relief its more refined, its deeper idiosyncrasies. We all follow the Paris fashions, we are linked with neighbouring nations by a thousand different interests;

yet our feelings and ideas, so far as the French and British intellectual world is concerned, are undoubtedly more independent than they were seven hundred years ago, when the peasant all over Europe spent his life fettered by patriarchal custom, whilst the ecclesiastic in every country derived his knowledge from the same sources, and the nobility of Latin Christendom created for itself a common code of honour and morality under the walls of Jerusalem. That lively exchange of ideas between nations, on which the present generation rightly plumes itself, has never been a mere give and take.

We are fortified in this consoling knowledge when we see how the ideas of a German classic about the highest object of human thought—about freedom—have recently been developed in a very individual way by two distinguished political thinkers of France and England. When Wilhelm von Humboldt's essay on the limits of the operations of the State appeared for the first time in complete form, a few years ago, some sensation was caused by that brilliant work in Germany too. We were rejoiced to get a deeper insight into the evolution of one of our chief men. The more refined minds delightedly detected the inspiring breath of the golden age of German humanity, for it is indeed only in Schiller's nearly-related letters on the æsthetic education of the human race that the bright ideal of a beautiful humanity, which fascinated Germans during that

period, has been depicted with equal eloquence and distinction. The gifted youth who had just had his first look into the self-complacent red-tapeism of Frederick William II's bureaucracy, and had turned away, chilled by its lifeless formalities, in order to live a life of æsthetic leisure at home—he was certainly to be forgiven for thinking very poorly of the State. Dalberg had asked him to write the little book—a prince who had the intention of lavishing profusely on his country all the good things of life by means of an administration that would know everything, and look after everything. The young thinker emphasized all the more keenly the fact that the State is nothing but an institution for purposes of security; that it must never again interfere, directly or indirectly, with a nation's morals or character; that a man was freest when the State was least active. We, of the present generation, know only too well that the true cause of the ruin of the old German State was that all free minds set themselves in such morbid opposition to the State that they fled from it like young Humboldt, instead of serving it like Humboldt when grown to a man, and elevating it by the nobility of their free human development. The doctrine which sees in the State merely a hindrance, a necessary evil, seems obsolete to the German of to-day. Curiously enough, though, this youthful work of Humboldt's is now being glorified by John Stuart Mill, in his book *On Liberty*, and by Edward

Laboulaye in his essay *L'état et ses limites*, as a mine of political wisdom for the troubles of the present time.

Mill is a faithful son of those genuinely German middle classes of England, which, since the days of Richard II have preferentially represented our country's inner essence, its spiritual work both in good and bad respects, both by an earnest desire for truth and by a gloomy, fanatical zeal in religious belief. He has become a rich man since he discovered and recognized the most precious jewel of our people, German idealism. Speaking from that free watch-tower he utters words of reproach, bitter words, against his fellow-countrymen's confused thinking; and unfortunately, also, against the present generation, bitter words such as only the honoured national economist would dare to speak unpunished. But, like a true-born Englishman, as a pupil of Bentham, he tests Kant's ideas by the standard of the useful, the "well-comprehended, permanent" utility of course, and therein shows, in his own person, the deep abyss which will always separate the two nations' intellectual activities. He wavers between the English and German views of the world—in his book *On Liberty*, just as in his latest work, *Utilitarianism*—and finally gets out of the difficulty by attributing an ideal meaning to Bentham's purely materialistic thoughts, which brings them close to the German view. With the help of the apostle of German humanity he contrives to praise the

North-American State-methods, which owe little, or nothing, to the beautiful humanity of German-Hellenic classicism. Laboulaye, on the other hand, belongs to that small school of keen-sighted Liberals, which feels the weakness of their country to reside in French centralization, and endeavours to re-awaken the germs of German civilization which are there slumbering under the Keltic-Roman régime. The talented author deals with historical facts, rather boldly than thoroughly; briefly, he is of opinion that Christianity was the first to recognize the worth and dignity of the individual. Well, then, our glorious heathen Humboldt must be a downright Christian philosopher, and with the nineteenth century, the age must be approaching when the ideas of Christianity shall be completely realized, and the individual, not the State, shall rule. The Frenchman will convince only a small group of believers among his numerous readers. Mill's book, on the other hand, has been received with the greatest applause by his fellow-countrymen. They have called it the gospel of the nineteenth century. As a fact, both works strike notes which have a mighty echo in the heart of every modern man; it is therefore instructive to investigate whether they really expound the principles of genuine freedom.

Although we have learnt to assign a deeper foundation and a richer meaning to the words of the Greek philosopher, no thinker has surpassed

the interpretation of freedom which Aristotle discovered. He thinks, in his exhaustive, empirical way, that freedom embraces two things: the suitability of the citizens to live as they prefer, and the sharing of the citizens in the State-government (ruling, and at the same time, being ruled). The one-sidedness, which is the lever of all human progress brought it about that the nations have hardly ever aspired to the full conception of freedom. It is, on the contrary, well known that the Greeks preferred political freedom in a narrower sense, and readily sacrificed the free activity of the individual to a beautiful and sound existence as a community. The love of political liberty, on the part of the ancients, was certainly by no means so exclusive as is generally believed. That definition of the Greek thinker proves that they were by no means lacking in the comprehension of a life, lived after its own will and pleasure, of civic, personal freedom. Aristotle knows very well that a State-administration is even thinkable which does not include the national life, taken in sum; he expressly declares that States are particularly distinguished from each other, by the question whether everything, or nothing, or how much is shared by the citizens. At any rate, the idea was dominant in the mature State of antiquity, that the citizen is only a part of the State, that true virtue is realized only in the State. Political thinkers among the ancients, therefore, occupy themselves solely with the questions:

Who shall rule in the State? and, How shall the State be protected? Only occasionally, as a slight misgiving, is the deeper question stirred: How shall the citizen be protected from the State? The ancients were assured that a power which a people exercises over itself, needs no limitation. How different are the German conceptions of freedom, which lay chief emphasis on the unlimited right of personality! In the Middle Age the State began everywhere, with an implacable combat of the State-power against the desire for independence on the part of individuals, guilds, classes, which was hostile to the State; and we Germans experienced in our own persons with what loss of power and genuine freedom the "Libertat" of the minor princes, the "freedoms of the Honourable classes" were bought. If, at length, in the course of this struggle, which in later times was gloriously settled by an absolute Monarchy, the majesty, the unity of the State was preserved, a transformation would take place in the people's ideas of freedom, and a fresh quarrel would start. No longer is the attempt made to separate the individual from a State-power, whose necessity has been understood. But there is a demand that the State-power should not be independent of the people; it should become an actual popular administration, working within established forms, and bound by the will of the majority of the citizens.

Everybody knows how immeasurably far from that goal our Fatherland still is. What Vittorio

Alfieri proposed to himself as his object in life nearly a hundred years ago:

"Di far con penna ai falsi imperj offesa",

is still a difficult, toilsome task for the Germans. On the Fulda, on the Leine, and probably also on the Spree, a pusillanimous German might even to-day repeat Alfieri's question: Ought a man who is steeped in the feeling of civism, to take the responsibility of bringing children into the world, under the yoke of a tyranny? Ought he to generate beings who, the more sensitive their conscience the stronger their sense of justice, are bound to suffer the more severely beneath that perversion of all ideas of honour, justice, and shame, whereby a tyranny poisons a people? What, however, Alfieri himself experienced, did not happen in the case of the peoples. When, having reached grown-up age, he published the savage pamphlet, *On Tyranny*, which he had once written in holy zeal as a youth, he was obliged himself to confess: To-day I should be wanting in the courage, or, more correctly speaking, the fury, which was requisite for the authorship of such a book. The nations to-day, regard with similar feelings the abstract hatred of tyrants of the past century. We no longer ask: "Come si debbe morire nella tirannide," but we stand with determined, invincible confidence, in the midst of the fight for political freedom, the result of which

has for a long time not been in question. For the common lot of everything human has dominated this struggle too, and this time, also, the thoughts of the nations largely anticipated actual conditions. How poor in vitality, in fruitfulness, are the partisans of absolutism when confronted with the people's demand for freedom! When two mighty streams of thought dash roaring at one another, a new middle-stream quietly separates at last from the wild confusion. Nay, rather, a stream rages against a strong breakwater and makes itself a way through thousands and thousands of fissures. Everything new that this nineteenth century has provided, is the work of Liberalism. The foes of freedom are able to utter only a cool negative, or to revive the ideas of long-forgotten days so that they may seem alive again, or, finally, they borrow the weapons of their opponents. In the tribunals of our Chambers, by means of the free press, which they owe to the Liberals, by means of catchwords which they overhear from their adversaries, they are championing principles which, if put in operation, would be bound to annihilate all the freedom of the press, all Parliamentary life.

Everywhere, even in classes which fifty years ago were still closed to all political ideas, there is a calm and firm belief in the truth of those great words, which, with their deliberate definiteness, mark the boundary of a new period; belief in the words of the American Declaration of Independ-

ence: "The just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed." So indisputable is this idea to modern men that even Gentz had, reluctantly, to agree with the detested protagonists of freedom, when he said that the State-power could claim sacrifices from the citizen only so long as the latter could call the State his State. And these problems of freedom are so old, so thoroughly examined in all their aspects, so near a decisive issue, that as regards most of them a conciliation and purgation of opinions has already been achieved. It was at last understood that the fight for political freedom is not a dispute between Republic and Monarchy, because the people's "ruling and at the same time being ruled," is equally realizable in both forms of the State. Only one single corollary of political freedom is, even to-day, the cause of embittered, passionate discussion. If, namely, the people's moral consciousness is in very truth the final, just foundation of the State, if in very truth the people rules according to its own will, and for its own happiness, a longing for the national isolation of the States arises of its own accord. Because it is only where the vital, unquestioning consciousness of belonging together permeates all members of the State, that the State is what ought to be, according to its nature, an organized people in unity. Thence the desire to exclude foreign elements, and, in divided nations, the impulse to get rid of the smaller of the two "fatherlands."

It is not our intention to describe to how many necessary limitations this political liberty is subject. Suffice it that there is everywhere a demand for the government of the peoples in harmony with their will, it is more general and uniform than ever before in history, and will at last be as surely satisfied, as the peoples' existence is more permanent, more justified, and stronger than the life of their powerful opponents.

However, let us look things in the face, let us consider how entirely our ideas of freedom have changed in this protean fight, in which we, ourselves, are spectators and actors. We no longer meet the problems of freedom with the overbearingness, with the vague enthusiasm, of youth. Political freedom is freedom politically limited—this phrase, which was blamed as servile even a few decades ago, is, to-day, admitted by everybody capable of political judgment. And how ruthlessly has harsh experience destroyed all those mad ideas which hid themselves behind the great name of Liberty! The ideas of freedom, which prevailed during the French Revolution, were a vague blend of Montesquieu's ideas and Rousseau's half-antique conception. The construction of political liberty was believed to be complete if only the legislative power were separated from the executive and the judicial, and every citizen were, on equal terms, to help in electing the deputies of the National Convention. Those demands were fulfilled, most abundantly

fulfilled, and what was the end of it all? The most disgusting despotism Europe ever saw. The idolatry which our Radicals displayed all too long for the horrors of the Convention, is at last beginning to die out in the presence of the trifling reflection: If an all-mighty State-power forbids me to open my mouth, compels me to belie my faith, and guillotines me as soon as I defy such insolence, it is a matter of perfect indifference whether that tyranny is exercised by a hereditary prince or by a Convention; both the one and the other is slavery. But the fallacy in Rousseau's maxim that, where all are equal, each one obeys himself, seems, really, too obvious. It is much truer that he obeys the majority, and what is to prevent that majority from behaving quite as tyrannously as an unscrupulous monarch?

If we consider the feverish convulsions, which have shaken for seventy years the nation on the other side of the Rhine (which is, despite all, a great nation), we are ashamed to find that the French, in spite of all their enthusiasm for liberty, have only known equality, and never freedom. But equality is a shallow idea, which may as well signify an equal slavery of all, as an equal freedom of all. And it certainly means the former, when it is aspired to by a people as the sole, highest, political good. The highest conceivable degree of equality—communism—is the highest conceivable degree of serfdom, because it assumes the suppression of all natural inclinations. Assuredly,

it is not an accident that the passionate impulse for equality is especially rife in that people, whose Keltic blood is ever and ever again finding pleasure in flocking, in blind subjection, round a great Cæsarean figure, whether his name be Vercingetorix, Louis XIV, or Napoleon. We Germans insist too proudly on the limitless right of the individual, for us to be able to discover freedom in universal suffrage; we reflect, that even in several Ecclesiastical Orders, the Heads are chosen by universal suffrage; but who in the wide world has ever sought for freedom in a convent? Truly it is not the spirit of liberty which speaks in Lamartine's declaration, in the year 1848: "Every Frenchman is an elector, therefore, a self-ruler; no Frenchman can say to another, 'You are more a ruler than I.'" What instinct of mankind is gratified by such words? None other than the meanest of all—envy! Even Rousseau's enthusiasm for the civism of the ancients will not stand serious examination. The civic glory of Athens rested on the broad substratum of slavery, of contempt for all economic activities; whilst we moderns base our fame on respect for all men, on our acknowledgment of the nobility of labour. The most bigoted aristocrat in the modern world seems like a democrat, by comparison with that Aristotle, who coolly lays it down with horrible hardness of heart: "It is not possible for a man who lives the life of a manual labourer to practise works of virtue."

Deeper natures were impelled, long ago, by such considerations, to examine more carefully on what principles the much-envied freedom of the Britons rests. They found that in that country no all-powerful government determines the destinies of the most remote communities, but every county, however small, is administered by itself. This acknowledgment of the blessings of self-government was an extraordinary advance; for the enervating influence on the citizens of a State that looks after everything can hardly be depicted in sufficiently dark colours; it is, therefore, so uncanny, because a morbid state of the people is revealed in its full extent only in a later generation. So long as the eye of the great Frederick watched over his Prussians, a simple glance at the hero raised even small souls above their standard, his vigilance was a spur to the sluggards. But when he passed away, he left a generation without a will, accustomed—as Napoleon III boasts of his Frenchmen—to expect from the State all incitement to action, disposed to that vanity which is the opposite of real national pride, capable on occasion of breaking out in fleeting enthusiasm for the idea of State-unity, but incapable of commanding itself—incapable of the greatest task which is laid upon modern nations. Only those citizens who have learnt, by self-government, to act as statesmen in case of need are able to colonize, to spread the blessings of Western civilization among barbarians. The management of the

business of the community by paid State officials, may be technically more perfect and may be better than the principle of the division of labour; yet a State which allows its citizens, of their own free-will, to look after districts and communities in honorary service, gains moral force by the self-consciousness, by the living, practical patriotism, of the citizens—forces which the sole rule of State officialdom can never evolve. Assuredly, this admission on our part was a significant deepening of our ideas of freedom, but it by no means contains the ultimate truth. For, if we inquire where this self-government of all small local districts exists, we discover with astonishment that the numerous small tribes in Turkey enjoy this blessing in a high degree. They pay their taxes; for the rest they live as they please, look after their pigs, hunt, kill each other, and find themselves quite happy with it all—until suddenly a pasha visits the tribe, and proves to the dullest understanding, by means of impalement and drowning in sacks, that the self-government of the communities is an illusion, if the highest powers of the State do not operate within fixed limits of the laws.

Thus, finally, we come to the conclusion, that political freedom is not, as the Napoleons assert, an ornament which may be set upon a perfectly constructed State like a golden cupola; it must permeate and inspire the whole State. It is a profound, comprehensive, extremely consistent

system of political rights, which tolerates no gaps. There can be no Parliament without free communities, no free communities without Parliament; and neither can be permanent if the middle factors between the top of the State and the communities, namely, the various districts and departments, are not also administered by a concentration of the personal activity of independent citizens. We Germans have felt these gaps painfully for a long time, and are just now making the first modest endeavours to fill them.

Nevertheless, a State dominated by a government carried on by the majority of its people, with a Parliament, with an independent judiciary, with districts and communities which administer themselves, is, despite all, not yet free. It has to set limits to its operation; it has to admit that there are personal properties of so high and unassailable a nature that the State must never subject them to itself. Let no one sneer too presumptuously at the fundamental principles of the more recent Constitutions. In the midst of phrases and silliness, they contain the Magna Charta of personal freedom, with which the modern world will not again dispense. Free movement in religious faith, and in knowledge and in affairs generally, is the watchword of the times; in this domain it has had the greatest effect; this social freedom is developing the essence of all political desires for the great majority of men. It may be asserted that wherever the State resolved to let a branch

of social activity grow unhindered, its self-control was gloriously rewarded; all the predictions of timorous pessimists fell to the ground. We have become a different nation, since we have been drawn into closer intercourse with the world and its ways. Even two generations ago, Ludwig Vincke, like the careful President he was, explained to his Westphalians how to set about building a high-road by means of a company, on the English plan. To-day, a dense net of associations of every kind is spread over German territory. We know that through his merchants, the German will, at the least, share in the noble destiny of our race, and fructify the wide world. And it is, even now, no empty dream that an act of government will presently result from that intercourse with the world, compared with whose world-embracing outlook all the activities of modern great Powers will seem like sorry provincialism —so immeasurably rich and many-sided is the essence of freedom. Therein lies the consoling certainty that it is never impossible at any time to work for the victory of freedom. For should a government temporarily succeed in undermining the people's participation in legislation, men of to-day, with their impulse for freedom, would simply throw their energies with the more violence into economic or spiritual activities, and the results in the one sphere influence the other sooner or later. Let us leave it to boys, and those nations which ever remain children, to hunt for freedom

with passionate haste, like some phantom that dissolves at the touch of its pursuers. A mature people loves liberty, like its lawful wife; she is part of us, she enraptures us day by day with fresh charms.

But new, undreamed-of dangers to freedom, arise with the growth of civilization. It is not only the State-power which may be tyrannical, but also the unorganized majority of a society may subject the minds of its citizens to odious compulsion by the slow and imperceptible, yet irresistible, force of its opinion. And it is beyond doubt, that the danger of an intolerable limitation of the independent development of personality, by means of public opinion, is especially great in democratic States. For, whilst during the absence of freedom under the old régime, at least a few privileged classes were allowed, without hindrance, to develop, brilliantly, their individual gifts, whether for good or for evil, the middle classes, who will determine Europe's future, are not free from a certain preference for the mediocre. They are justly proud of the fact that they are trying to drag down to their own level everything that rises above them, and to raise up to the level all those that are beneath them; and they may base their desire to be determining factors in the lives of States on a glorious title, on a great deed, which they, together with the old monarchy, have achieved, namely, on the emancipation of our lower classes. But woe to us, if this tendency

to equality, which has ripened the most precious fruit in the domain of common right, goes astray in the domain of individual evolution! The middle classes hate all open, violent tyranny, but they are much inclined to nullify, by the ostracism of public opinion, everything that rises above a certain average of culture, of spiritual nobility, of audacity. The love of liberty which distinguishes them, and makes them, as such, the most capable political order, is liable to degenerate only too easily into idle complacency, into an unthinking sleepy endeavour to blink and gloss over all the contradictions of intellectual life, and to tolerate alert activity only in the sphere of material operations (of "improvement!"). We are not here giving utterance to vain hypotheses. Far from it. The yoke of public opinion presses heavier than elsewhere in the freest great States of modernity, in England and the United States. The sphere of what the community permits the citizen to think and to do as an honourable and decent being is there, incomparably narrower than with us. If you have knowledge of the memorable discussions about the Constitution at the Convention of Massachusetts, in the year 1853; if you know with what spirit and passion the doctrine was then championed, that "a citizen may certainly be the subject of a party, or an actual power (!), but never the subject of the State," you will not underrate the peril of a lapse into conditions of harsh morality and weakened

rights—the danger of the social tyranny of the majority. Mill has excellently pointed this out, and therein lies the significance of his book for the present time. He investigates, quite apart from the form of government, the nature and limits of the power which society should suitably exercise over the individual. Humboldt saw danger for personal liberty only in the State; he scarcely thought that the society of beautiful and distinguished minds, which associated with him, could ever hinder the individual in the complete evolution of his personality. However, we know now, that they may be not only a "free sociability," but also a tyrannical public opinion.

In order to understand to what extent society should use its power over the individual, it is best, first of all, to throw gleefully overboard a question, over which political thinkers have unnecessarily spent many unhappy hours, namely: Is the State only a means for furthering the objects in life of the citizens? Or, is it the sole object of the citizens' well-being to bring into existence a beautiful and good collective life? Humboldt, Mill, and Laboulaye, and the collective Liberalism of the Rotteck-Welcker school, decide for the former; the ancients, as is well-known, for the latter. We think the one opinion is worth as little as the other. For the whole world admits that a relation of reciprocal rights and duties connects the State with its citizens. But reciprocity is unthinkable between entities which are related to one another

simply as means and object. The State is, itself, an object, like everything living; for who can deny that the State lives quite as real a life as each of its citizens? How wonderful, that we Germans, with our provincialism, have to admonish a Frenchman and an Englishman to think more highly of the State! Mill and Laboulaye both live in mighty respected States; they take that rich blessing for granted and perceive in the State only the terrifying power which threatens the liberty of man. We Germans have had our esteem for the dignity of the State fortified by painful experience. When we are asked by strangers about our "narrower fatherland," and a scornful smile plays around the lips of the hearers at the mention of the name of Reuss, of the younger line, or Schwarzburg-Sondershausen's principality, we feel, indeed, that the State is something bigger than a means for lightening the burdens of our private lives. Its honour is ours, and he who cannot look upon his State with enthusiastic pride, his soul is lacking in one of the highest feelings of man. If, to-day, our best men are trying to build up a State for this nation, which shall deserve respect, they are inspired in their task, not only by the desire to spend their personal existence, henceforth, in greater security, but they, also, know they are fulfilling a moral duty, which is imposed upon every nation.

The State—which protected our forefathers with its justice, which they defended with their

bodies; which the living are called upon to build further; and higher-developed children and children's children to inherit which, therefore, is a sacred bond between many generations—the State, I say, is an independent order, which lives according to its own laws. The views of rulers and ruled can never altogether coincide; they will, assuredly, reach the same goal in a free and mature State, but by widely divergent paths. The citizen demands from the State the highest possible measure of personal liberty, because he wants to live himself out, to develop all his powers. The State grants it, not because it wants to oblige the individual citizen; but it is considering itself, the whole. It is bound to support itself by its citizens; but in the moral world, only that which is free, which is also able to resist, supports. Thus, truly, the respect, which the State pays the individual and his liberty, gives the surest measure of its culture; but it pays that respect primarily because political freedom, which the State itself acquires, is impossible with citizens who do not, themselves, look after their most private affairs without hindrance.

This indissoluble connection between political and personal liberty, especially the essence of liberty, as of a closely-cohering system of noble rights, has not been properly understood by either Mill or Laboulaye. The former, in full enjoyment of English civic rights, silently assumes the existence of political freedom; the latter, under the

oppression of Bonapartism, does not dare even to think about it. And yet personal freedom, without the political, leads to the dissolution of the State. He who sees in the State only a means for obtaining the objects in life of the citizens, must, consequentially, after the good mediæval manner, seek freedom from the State, not freedom in the State. The modern world has outgrown that error. Still less, however, may a generation, which lives predominantly for social aims, and is able to devote only a small part of its time to the State, fall into the opposite error of the ancients. This age is called upon to resume in itself, and to further develop, the indestructible results of the labours of culture, and, likewise, of the political work of antiquity and the Middle Age. Thus it arrives at the harmonizing and yet independent conclusion, that there is a physical necessity, and a moral duty, for the State to further everything that serves the personal evolution of its citizens. And, again, there is a physical necessity, and a moral duty, for the individual to take his part in a State, and to make even personal sacrifices to it, which the maintenance of the community demands, even the sacrifice of his life. And, indeed, man is subject to this duty, not merely because it is only as a citizen that he can become a complete man, but also because it is an historical ordinance that mankind build States, beautiful and good States. The historical world affords superabundant evidence of such conditions of

reciprocal rights, or reciprocal dependence; everything conditioned appears in it at the same time as a conditioning entity. It is precisely that fact which often makes the comprehension of things political difficult to keen, mathematical minds which, like Mill, are fond of reaching conclusion by means of a radical law.

Mill now tries to draw the permissible limits of the operation of society with the sentence: The interference of society with personal liberty is only justified, when it is necessary, in order to protect the community itself, or to hinder injury by others. We shall not contradict this saying—if only it were not so entirely futile! How small is the effect of such abstract maxims of natural law in an historical science! For is not the "self-protection of the Community" historically capable of change? Is it not the duty of a theocratic State, for the sake of self-protection, to tyrannously interfere, even with the thoughts of its citizens? And do not those common labours, which are "necessary for the community," which the citizen must be compelled to discharge, vary essentially according to time and place? There is no absolute limit to the State-power, and it is the greatest merit of modern science, that it has taught politicians to reckon only with relative ideas. Every advance of civilization, every widening of national culture, necessarily makes the State's activity more varied. North America, too, is experiencing that truth; the State and

citizen may make any official answerable in a law-court.

Luckily, another historical law is operating in opposition to the increasing growth of State-power. In proportion as the citizens become riper for self-government, the State is under obligation, nay, is physically obliged, to operate in a more varied way so far as comprehensiveness is concerned, but more moderately so far as method is concerned. If the immature State was a guarantee for individual branches of national activity, the guardianship of the highly-developed State embraces the sum total of national life, but it operates as far as possible, only as a force that spurs on, instructs, clears away impediments. A mature people must therefore demand these things of the State for the assurance of its personal liberty: The most fruitful outcome of the metaphysical fights for freedom during the past century, namely, the truth that the citizen must never be utilized by the State merely as a means, should be recognized as a true fundamental principle. Next: all activity on the part of the government is beneficial which brings forth, furthers, purifies, the individual activity of the citizens; all government activity which suppresses the activity of individuals is evil. For the whole dignity of the State rests ultimately on the personal worth of its citizens, and that State is the most moral, which combines the powers of the citizens for the purpose of accomplishing the greatest number of works

beneficial to the society, and yet permits each one, honestly and independently, to pursue his personal development untouched by compulsion on the part of the State and public opinion. Thus we agree with Mill and Laboulaye in the final result: in the desire for the highest possible degree of personal liberty, although we do not share their view of the State as an obstacle to freedom.

And what significance do these reflections on personal liberty possess for us? The presentiment of a great and decisive movement is permeating the world, and imposing on every nation the question, what value it puts on personal freedom, on the personal independence of its citizens. We Germans in particular cannot evade the question; we, whose whole future rests, not on the established power of all our States, but on the personal thoroughness of our people. The historical facts are dominant, that only a nation which is imbued with a strong sense of personal freedom can win and keep political freedom, and that the well-being or real personal freedom is only possible under the protection of political freedom, since despotism, in whatever shape it may appear, is able to give rein only to the lower passions, to commerce, and commonplace ambition.

The most precious and especial possession of our nation, which will yet constitute the German State a new phenomenon in political history, is the Germans' invincible love of personal freedom. Many will smile at this, and put the bitter question:

Where are the fruits of this love? And indeed we redden as we confront that stately line of legislative measures which the Anglo-Saxon race has passed for its personal freedom. Mill is far from deifying our nation; as has been said of him with some justice, he inwardly feels his near kinship with the German genius, but he is afraid of the weaknesses of our temperament, he deliberately avoids penetrating too deeply into German literature, and holds to French novels. And the same man confesses that in no country except Germany alone, are people capable of understanding and aspiring to the highest and purest personal liberty, the all-sided evolution of the human spirit!

Our science is the freest on earth; it tolerates no compulsion, either from without or within; it aims at the truth, nothing but the truth, without any prejudice. The opinionativeness of our learned men became a by-word, yet it goes very well together with a frank acknowledgment of an adversary's scientific importance. A free mind, which goes its own way, and not the well-worn way of the schools, and reaches important results, may, with certainty, finally count upon cordial agreement. The most stupid police tutelage did not succeed in breaking down the Germans' ardour for personal idiosyncrasy. It is a conviction, which has taken firm root in the lowest strata of our nation, that in all questions of conscience every man must decide for himself alone.

In the tiniest States, which would entirely distort the character of any other people, the ideal of free human development is preached to the youth, namely, the fearless seeking after truth, the evolution of character from within outwards, the harmonious growth of all human gifts. And, as freedom and toleration necessarily go hand in hand, nowhere is the tolerance of different opinions so much at home as with us; we learned it in the hard school of those religious wars, which this nation fought for the salvation of the whole of humanity. Ours, too, is the noblest blessing of inward freedom: beautiful moderation. The most daring thoughts about the highest problems which trouble mankind are uttered by Germans. Human respect for everything human became second nature to the German.

Let nobody believe that the free scientific activity of the Germans is a welcome lightning-conductor to the existing State authorities. All intellectual gains, of which a nation can be proud, influence the State-life as one pledge more for its political greatness. We are slowly proceeding from intellectual to political work, as Germany's recent history clearly shows, and we may expect with certainty that the independent courage of German learned men in the search for truth will react on the whole nation. Inclination, and capacity for self-government are abundant among us. Towns like Berlin and Leipzig are at least on level terms with the great English communities

in the excellence of their administration, in the common feeling dominating their inhabitants. And how much natural talent and inclination for genuine personal liberty dwell in our Fourth Estate is revealed more clearly every year in the trade unions.

The last and supreme requisite of personal freedom is that the State and public opinion must allow the individual to develop in his individual character, both in thought and in act. What Mill announces to his fellow-countrymen as a new thing, has long been common property in Germany, namely Humboldt's doctrine of the "individuality of capacity and culture," of the "highest and harmonious evolution of all capacities," which thrives by means of freedom and multiplicity of situations, that unique combination of the Platonic sense of beauty and Kant's severity, which marks the zenith of German humanity.

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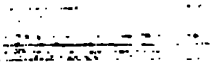

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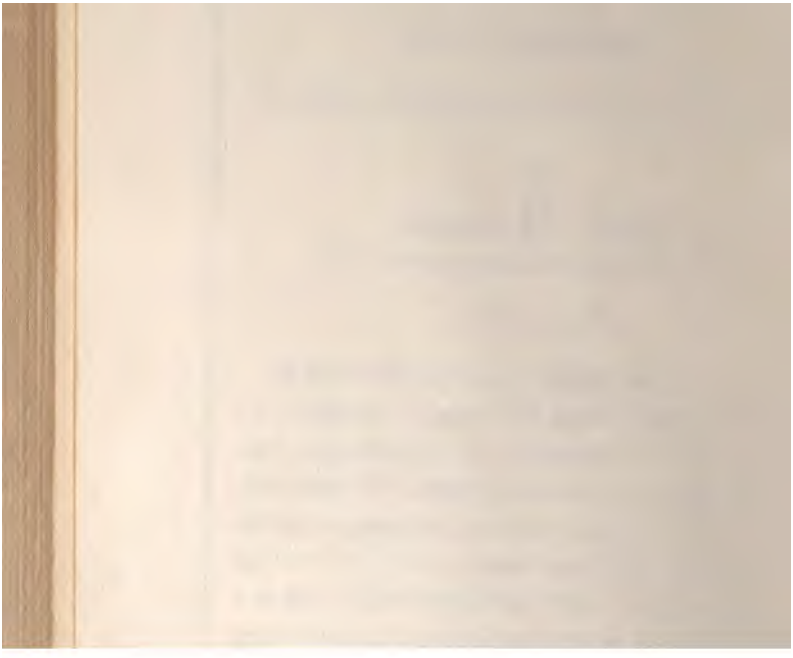

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